

[And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge. —Qur'ān]

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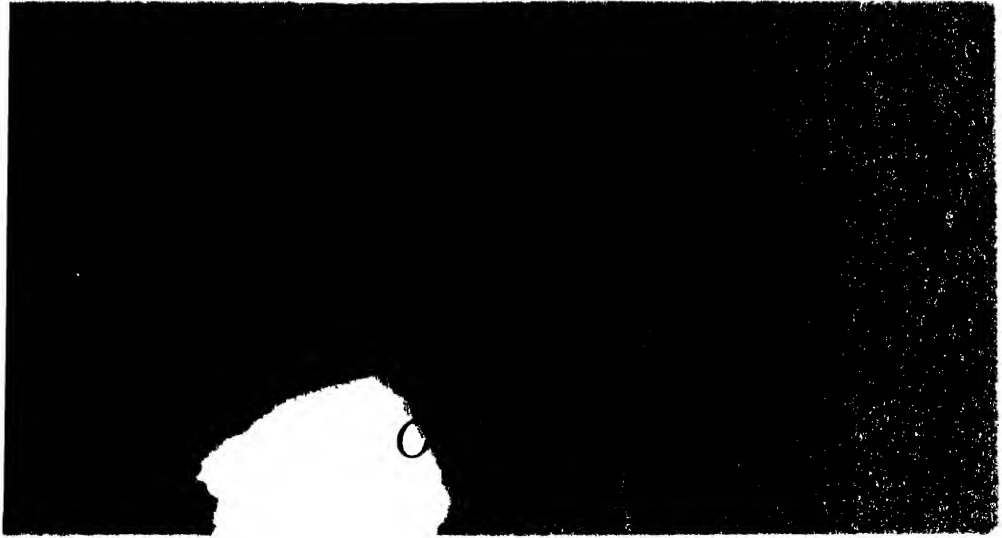
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*[And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân]*

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## THE CHAPTER ON PEARLS IN THE BOOK ON PRECIOUS STONES BY AL-BĒRŪNĪ<sup>1</sup>

IN 1355 A.H. the *Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif* published from a manuscript supplied by me an edition of this important work which might have been the subject of an edition de luxe on account of its unique character in this branch of oriental literature. No other work in Arabic or Persian of which I have knowledge treats the subject in such scientific manner and as a rule other works make no pretence of investigating the specific weights, hardness and probable origin of the precious stones and minerals discussed.

When I undertook the plan for an edition only one manuscript was known, that in the Escorial in Spain. With great liberality, P. Mariano Sanchez<sup>2</sup> of that library sent me photographs to Aligarh and these should still be preserved in the University Library there. I was deeply disappointed when I made a copy as the scribe, either a Persian or an Indian, apparently had not the slightest knowledge of the Arabic language and, as was evident, omitted much. This was confirmed when, on arriving at Berlin, I mentioned the matter to Professor Ruska,<sup>3</sup> who informed me that Dr. Ritter had sent him from Istanbul photographs of a second manuscript discovered by Prof. Zeki Walidi in Qaisariyya in the library of Rasit (Rashid) Efendi. These photographs he lent me and I was able to collate my own copy with it and found that this manuscript, most likely written in Egypt, was much better and that the scribe, in a clear hand, had done his work much better having a knowledge of the language. He had even, though often wrongly, corrected palpable errors of the Escorial manuscript. When I returned the photos to Prof. Ruska he told me that yet another manuscript of the same work had been discovered by Prof. Zeki Walidi in the Sarai Library in Istanbul and that he had received photographs of this also. These too he lent to me and I found, to my regret,

1. I am convinced that this is the correct pronunciation of his name. In the fac-simile of his autographs which I published in this Journal he vocalises the Ba' with Fath which precludes the pronunciation of 'Biruni.' The Arabic alphabet is unable to indicate the sound of the Ya'i Majhl and *Berun* (outside) was at his time the pronunciation as it is to-day in Urdu.

2. I fear that this learned Padre was murdered during the revolution in Spain.

3. I here again express my grateful thanks to Prof. Ruska for his invaluable help.

that I had not had access to it from the beginning. It was written by a man of learning and would have sufficed alone for an edition as practically all variants found in the other two manuscripts are due either to carelessness or ignorance of the respective scribes. The copyist of this manuscript calls himself at the end Aḥmad b. Šiddiq b. Muḥammad, the physician, and says that he completed the copy for his own use and of those after him on the first day of Šafar 626 A.H. He may be Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Šiddiq al-Ḥarrānī, a Ḥanbali scholar who died in 634 A.H.,<sup>1</sup> though this man is not credited in biographies with medical knowledge. In the margins of this copy are frequent notes, often correcting or disputing statements of Bērūnī, by another scholar, who claims to have had other works of our author at hand, and calls himself Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Khatīb Dāriyā in the Šālihiyya of Damascus. He lived somewhat later as he cites the book of drugs by Ibn al-Baitār. In a note on the front-page he states that he acquired the manuscript in 678 A.H. The next owner is Muḥamad b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'id al-Anṣārī. I have not been able to find a biography of the first, but the second is beyond doubt the celebrated Ibn al-Akfānī who died in 749 A.H.<sup>2</sup> of the plague. He also composed a work on jewels.

This manuscript also contains an addition (p. 257, line 13 to p. 258, line 5) which is missing in the other two manuscripts. It consists of the end of the missing chapter on tin and a marginal note suggests correctly that the copyist of the manuscript had turned over two leaves (or more) containing the end of the chapter on iron and the beginning of that on tin.

Since I undertook the edition of this work I uncautiously drew the attention to the importance of the work to a colleague who thought fit to enter upon a task for which he had not the knowledge and published a translation of parts into German in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*. He happens to cite only once in this translation two lines of poetry in the Arabic text, which he has not understood, because he took the Qaisariyya MS. as a basis, being easier to read. The correct text is found in my edition. Not content with this, the work was given to two students for presentations as theses for the doctorate. One was a young Syrian, named Hāshimī, investigated the authorities and authors cited by Bērūnī and in the list of poets which he gives nearly half the names are wrong, because he again used the easier readable manuscript. The second is a Maghribi scholar, Hilālī, who intends to present a German translation of the lengthy introduction for obtaining the degree. As Hilālī is not to be blamed and he asked my advice on the matter, I have given him my help in his work, which may have appeared in print.

I have chosen the chapters on pearls because they are a good example of the manner in which the author deals with his subject. There is much

1. A short biography is found in the *Šahad Harat* of Ibn al-'Imād, Vol. V, 163.

2. A biography is found in the *Durar al-Kamina*, III, 279. The book on jewels has the title *Nuḥḥab adh-Dhahḥa'ir* and was published by Cheikho in the journal *al-Mashriq* in 1908; it is a very short treatise of 15 pages only.

which one would have preferred he had left out. He enlarges upon the linguistic aspect of the names of the pearls and for this purpose cites a number of poetical quotations taken from ancient and modern poets, some his contemporaries, and one is amazed how great a quantity of books must have been in a comparatively remote part of Eastern Persia, the modern Afghanistan. He indulges in criticising other commentators and it is curious that he devotes so much space in polemics against al-'Amidī<sup>1</sup> and his book, *al-Muwāzana*, the weighing up of the merits of the two poets, Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī, in which book 'Amidī displays a decided leaning in favour of al-Buḥturī. Bērūnī tries to vindicate some times very far-fetched similia introduced by Abū Tammām. Frequently these poetical quotations are obscure as they are in the first place cited for proving the use of certain words.

As with other jewels the author tries to solve the problem of their origin and adduces the opinions of his predecessors. As regards pearls which he considers to take the place of bones in other animals, we may state that it is almost certain that these are formed through some minute foreign matter entering the shell which the animal is unable to eject. Over this matter forms a calcified crust of a similar composition as the coating of the shell and of the same lustre which is periodically repeated making several fresh layers and the size of the pearl consequently depends upon the time which the animal in the shell has had to cover the pearl with fresh layers and naturally also upon the size of the shell itself. Pearls are found not only in the shells in the well-known pearl-fisheries, but even in other quite common shells though they are as a rule minute.

Bērūnī states in the introduction of his book that he only knew of two works on the same subject by predecessors, one by the well-known philosopher al-Kindī<sup>2</sup> in Arabic and the second by Naṣr b. Ya'qūb ad-Dīnawarī in Persian. This latter author is unknown otherwise and both books seem to be lost. He also cites frequently the two brothers al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain, natives of Ray, a then important town near the modern Teheran. They appear to have been in the position of court-jewellers to the Sultān Yamīn ad-Daula Maḥmūd of Ghazna. I mention this because they are mentioned here several times and they have puzzled the translators mentioned above. Other authors and poets will be discussed, as they occur, in the foot-notes.

1. Abul Qāsim al-Ḥasan b. Bighr b. Yahya al-Amidī died in 370 A.H. at Basra. His *Muwāzana* was published in Istanbul as long ago as 1287 A.H. Biographies: Brockelmann, I, 111 (Suppl. I, 171); Yāqūt, *Irshād*, III, 54; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 218.

2. Ya'qūb b. Ishāq b. as-Sabbāh al-Kindī, one of the greatest scientists of the whole Middle Ages wrote innumerable works on all subjects of human learning, a list of which, as far as preserved, may be consulted in Brockelmann's *History of Arabic Literature*, I, 209 (Suppl. I, 372). The earliest biographies are found in the *Fihrist* 255-261 and Marzubanī's *Mu'jam*, 507. The publisher of the latter work, edited by me, has unfortunately deliberately omitted a marginal note on p. 507, which is found on Vol. 180 of the

I hope that the somewhat lengthy grammatical and lexicographical digressions of the author which I translate, with one slight exception, in full, will not weary the reader ; but they serve to elucidate the manner of working by the author. The work on jewels is the product of the last years of his life as indicated by his dedication to the Amīr Maudūd and it is not mentioned in the usual lists of his works, though the writer of the marginal notes states that he knew of an earlier treatise by Bērūnī on the same subject. Only the Book on Drugs appears to have been written later by Bērūnī when he was over eighty years of age as he himself says in the introduction of that work. Some articles in that work are verbatim found in the Book on Jewels.

I hope that a complete translation which I have made may see the light some day.

Unfortunately some errors of the press, and perhaps my own, remain and I correct some of these in the foot-notes to this translation. My friends of the Da'irat have at times corrected what they considered errors on my part, but they are wrong. As examples I cite p. 111 line 18 مثب and p. 139 line 11 داءك where آراك. Arāk is the name of a tree which they probably did not know.

Berlin MS. and which gives some unknown information. I give it here in text, difficult to read in the MS., in text and translation.—

ذكر محمد بن داؤد بن الجراح في كتاب الورقة ان ابا علي عبد الرحمن بن يحيى بن خاقان قال رايته  
يعني ابا يوسف يعقوب بن اسحاق الكندي في نومي بعد حرقه قال مارايته حيا ونعت بصفته . قال فسأله  
ماذا فعل ربك بك . قال ما هو الا ان رأيت فقال انطلقوا الى ما كنتم به تكذبون . ذكر احمد بن  
الطيب المرخسي وغيره عنه انه قال لا يفلح الناس وعيني تطرف من داب ؟ المتوكل . قال وكان  
المتوكل امر بضرب الكندي في سنة اثنتين واربعين ومائتين خمسين سوطا فضرب وكان منسوباً الى  
الزندقة وهو يعقوب بن اسحاق بن الصباح بن محمد بن الاشعث بن قيس الكندي نحو ذب الله من غضبه .

" Muḥammad b. Dā'ūd b. al-Jarrāh in the *Kitāb al-Waraqā* mentions that Abū 'Alī 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Khāqān said : I saw him in my sleep after he had been burned. He said : I never saw him, meaning Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb . . . al-Kindī, in life but recognised him by the description of him. I asked him : What did God do to thee ? He replied : What was it except that when He saw me, He said : Go ye away to where you used to lie about him. Aḥmad b. aṭ-Ṭayyib as-Sarakhsī and others report about him that he said : The people will never prosper while my eyes flow with tears about the deed of al-Mutawakkil. He (Sarakhsī) said : Al-Mutawakkil in 242 A.H. ordered that al-Kindī was lashed fifty stripes with a whip for he was accused of being a Zindīq (heretic). His name was Ya'qūb b. Ishaq. b. aṣ-Ṣabbāḥ b. Muḥammad b. al-Aḡḡāḥ b. Qais al-Kindī."

The *Kitāb al-Waraqā* has been preserved, it was so called because it contained biographies each of which filled only one leaf. 'Izz ad-Din Tanūkhī has published a specimen in the *Journal of the Arab Academy of Damascus*. Ibn al-Jarrāh was killed with the unfortunate one-day Caliph 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz in 296. Aḥmad b. aṭ-Ṭayyib as-Sarakhsī was the tutor of the Caliph al-Mu'tadid and a pupil of al-Kindī. He was killed by order of the Caliph al-Mu'tamid in 283 or 286 (*Lisān al-Mizān*, I, 189).

TRANSLATION OF THE ARABIC TEXT  
PEARLS

GOD Almighty has said :<sup>1</sup> " As if they were rubies and pearls." It was on this account that we mentioned the rubies first together with such jewels which resemble them or are passed off for them and we placed with them such which surpass the ruby in hardness and is master over them. Now we turn to that jewel which follows it in the Qur'ān, namely the Marjān and we say that the name for one thing varies in various languages and two languages do not agree except on rare occasions. For nations on earth are many and each nation has its own language ; the names for one thing are numerous and increase with the division of nations into tribes and clans, so that their dialects are different, even if they do not differ entirely, because they change gradually. The Indians have a special liking for the multiplication of names for one and the same thing some being simple names, while others are descriptive derived from their conditions. That however which we are aiming at is what the Arabs say or express in their poems and we are not concerned about the Indians. Most lexicographers collect what they have heard in every tribe or clan and explain it giving its correct pronunciation without it having any other advantage, but that of plunging them into boasting and amassing material. They go so far that they cast aside all guard and even manufacture as evidence for their explanations poems which they hang round the necks of folk in the graves and call them Ancients and the later ones, working in the same way as it is said about the Wasāya (death-bed admonitions) : If thou desirest to lie, become one who records (past events), do not invoke the evidence of one living who can contradict thee, but turn to the dead for it, for they are hidden for ever."

Pearls consist of two kinds : Large ones called Durr and small ones called Marjān as Abū 'Ubaida says : Durr are the large pearls, Marjān are the small ones and Lu'lu' comprises both."

God Almighty says :<sup>2</sup> " From both are brought Lu'lu' and Marjān." So these are two kinds differing as to being large and small, but Lu'lu' is (here) used for the large ones.

Abul Ḥasan al-Lihyānī<sup>3</sup> says : " Durr and Lu'lu' are big pearls." He does not disagree that Marjān means the small ones, but he will not admit that the name Lu'lu' can be used for the Marjān. There is no question but that he relied in his opinion upon the verse of Nābigha : <sup>4</sup>

" With Durr and rubies was her chest adorned and with separated beads of Lu'lu' and emerald."

1. Sūra 58, v. 58.

2. Sūra 58, v. 22.

3. A poet of the time before Islam whose collected poems have been preserved. The verse in question is from a poem about the queen of an-Nu'mān, king of al-Ḥīra.

4. Abul Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Mubārak al-Lihyānī was a pupil of the chief scholars of the Baṣrian and Kūfan schools and the citation is no doubt from his work entitled " Nawādir." He lived in the middle of the third century of the Hijra.



Now the emerald is never placed side by side with pearls of a different kind than those used with rubies. The poet 'Ali ibn al-Jahm<sup>1</sup> expresses himself opposite to this :

"She did not like what she saw on my head and said : " Is this hoariness or Lu'lu' pearls strung on a cord ?"

He call the Marjān (small pearls) Lu'lu', because very small pearls, which by their smallness resemble mustard-seed, when strung, are likened to white hair. This is what they mean, not cropped hair, for if they were to mean that, they would not compare it with strung pearls, because it (cropped hair) is more like scattered pearls. Aus ibn Hajar<sup>2</sup> has said :

"Just as the cord lets fall from its string scattered pearls, small ones."

Ibn Bābak<sup>3</sup> has said :

"As if the new moon on the eve of her first night were the remnant of a cut string of pearls."

He refers to the small ones when strung, because when far from the eye one cannot distinguish between the serrated joinings, and by the word *cut* he wants to say that the string does not form a complete circle through the cord being broken.

In books of words is stated : *Tala'la'a wajhuhu*, i.e., *his face glistened* is derived from the word *Lu'lu'* (pearl) on account of its lustre.<sup>4</sup>

Aḥmad ibn 'Alī<sup>5</sup> says in the book *Sharḥ al-'Ilal* : "The day is called *Nahār* because the light of it runs from East to West like the flowing of a river (Nahr) so that it fills up what is between both." I should like to know what is the difference between it (the day) and the night as its darkness also runs from East to West like the flow of a river and fills up what lies between the two. He also says : "The night is called *Lail* because it glistens (*tala'la'a*) so that the onlooker is in doubt about the things he sees and says : "That is it !" Then he says : "*Lālā* (no ! no !) for the thing glistens (*la'la'a*) for him." For this reason does he assert was the name *Lu'lu'* given to the pearl because the jewellers say ? : "Many a time does the eye fall on them and again you look at them and they appear to look different from the first time, though what he says can only be his perplexity about them. Perhaps it may be due to their round shape as most other jewels have facettes and various shapes upon which the eye can rest and make it possible to contemplate the greater part or most of them, and at times the transparency permits him even to look

1. A poet known for his antagonism against the family of 'Ali ibn Abi Tālib. He died near Ḥalab in 1249 A.H. (Marzubānī 286 ; Ibn Khallikān ed. Cairo 1310, Vol. I., 349, etc.).

2. A poet of the time of paganism.

3. His name was 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. Maṣṣūr and he died in 410 A.H. (Ibn Khallikān, I, 297 ; Tha'libī Yatīma, II, 291).

4. Really the opposite is the case, the verb is derived from the noun *Lu'lu'*.

5. This may be Aḥmad b. 'Alī ar-Rumānī known as Ibn ash-Sharābī who died in 415 A.H. (Yāqūt, *Iṣṣād*, I, 241 ; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 151). His work is not preserved. The etymologies are of course altogether wrong.

through them to the other side. A round opaque jewel is not so ; because the eye can only visualise a small portion and, if it is turned round, his eye catches another new portion of it and he sees what he had not seen before.

## NAMES OF PEARLS AND THEIR DESCRIPTIONS BY LEXICOGRAPHERS

THE names for the pearl are numerous in the Arabic language like those for the lion, and we shall not trouble to enumerate them all ; first because we are unable to do so and secondly because it would be tiresome. Among the well-known names are : Lu'lu', Durra, Marjān, Nuṭfa, Tūma, Tau'ama, Laṭimiyya, Ṣadafiyya, Safāna, Jumāna, Wāniyya, Haijumāna, Kharīda, Khūsa, Tha'tha' and Khaṣl.

Al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad<sup>1</sup> says : "Nuṭfa (drop of water) resembles it by its glitter and clearness." A grain of hail or a drop of milk resembles a pearl much more than a drop of water. Nay the comparison with a drop of *Manī* would be nearer on account of its whiteness rather than its lucidness, though *Manī* is (itself) named after a drop of water, just as it is called "despicable water," and with reference to man and woman it is called water, but *Manī* is generally what is meant by *Nuṭfa*.

A poet (Suwaid ibn Abī Kāhil)<sup>2</sup> says about the Tau'ama :

"Like a Tau'ama (is the maiden) when you touch her skin, the eye is refreshed and the couch is pleasant."

This (Tau'ama) refers to a place on the sea-shore. Here follows in the text a grammatical explanation. Al-Ḥirmāzī<sup>3</sup> says concerning Tau'am that it is the capital of 'Omān close to the coast while Ṣuḥār is near the mountains on the road to the desert and between both is the distance of twenty Parasangs.

As regards the Laṭimiyya it is said that it is derived from the word Laṭīma (caravan carrying spices) in the verse of Abū Dhu'aib and of others. As it cannot be very well derived from Laṭīma, as no spices are carried, they say also that it refers to the sea on account of the clapping (Talāṭum) of the waves.

1. One of the greatest scholars of the Baṣrian school, died in 175 A.H. It was he who first worked out the metrical system of Arabic poetry and the first who conceived the idea of writing a lexicon, the *Kitāb al-'Ain*, which was to contain the whole of the Arabic language. Whether the work as preserved is actually by him is a much disputed question. Certain is however that it was he who planned the very scientific, but unpracticable, arrangement of the contents based upon the location of the organs of articulation, beginning with the sounds uttered deepest in the throat proceeding to the tip of the lips. (Biographies are found in all works on Arabic scientists).

2. A poet of the first century of the Hijra. The verse is out of a poem recorded in the collection of the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*.

3. Rauḥ b. al-Faraj, one of the lesser scholars of the Kūfic school.

Likewise the name *Ṣadafiyya* is derived from the word *Ṣadaf* (oyster-shell). The poet *Nābig̃ha*<sup>1</sup> has said :

“(This woman is) shining like the pearl of an oyster-shell, the diver who has found it is joyful and whoever sees it shouts for joy and prostrates himself (in admiration).”

He means out of joy and admiration for the pearl hidden and sheltered in its shell against the water as the Holy Writ speaks about it. For the shell is the mother of the pearl and the mother is compassionate towards her child and guards it. *Nābig̃ha* does not mean that it guards its lustre in the shell but only wishes to indicate its connection with the shell. But *Abū ‘Alī al-Iṣbahānī*<sup>2</sup> says that the expression *Ṣadafiyya* is poor and of no value as every pearl in the world is found in a shell. Nothing shares this quality with the shell except that there is a point of comparison in the fairy-tales of the Indians for they say that pearls are found in elephants of super quality in the flesh of their foreheads and that these elephants are distinguished by their greyish colour and the perfume like the scent of Indian jasmine. Likewise (they assert) that pearls are found in the soil where the lances (i.e., bamboo) grow beneath the roots. They detail this by saying that these lances are red and if they are sappy suckling which are not straight and rain falls on them at time of the constellations *Ghafr* and *Zubānā*<sup>3</sup> pearls engender in the tubes from the rain-drops which congeal when the canes of the lances (bamboo) are ripe. *Ṭabāshīr* is manufactured from them (the bamboo) and if the people of the sea-shore were to find in the *Ṭabāshīr* canes something, after burning and splitting them, it would be well known and the kind of such pearls would also be known. Then even if there were such elephant or bamboo pearls those derived from the sea would still be shell-ones (*Ṣadafī*).

‘*Abd ar-Rahmān ibn Ḥassān*<sup>4</sup> has said :

“She is resplendent like the pearl of the diver, set apart from hidden jewels.”

If he did intend that it was set apart from the shell and extracted from it, it (the shell) could not be called a jewel for it is only a thing which protects jewels. *Sulaimān ibn Yazīd al-‘Adawī*<sup>5</sup> has said :

“As if she were a white pearl, a hidden one, from which the shell is guarding the harm in the tossing of the sea.”

1. See note 4, p. 403.

2. I have not been able to ascertain whom he means, it may be *Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq ibn Manda*, the Traditionist who died in 39 A.H.

3. *Al-Ghafr* (also called *al-Ghufra*) and *Zubānā* are stations of the moon; they are in the first case three small stars in Virgo while the second two stars in Libra. (Cf. Lane, *Lexicon* and *Marzūqī, Azmina*, I, 310). At their auroral rising, the monsoons are said to blow.

4. The son of *Ḥassān ibn Thābit*, the poet of the prophet, he flourished under early Umayyades.

5. I have not been able to ascertain the time of this poet, but two lines of his are cited in *Murtaḍā, Amālī*, IV, 75 and a short poem is found in the *Amālī of al-Qālī*, III, 29 (28); from both of which he appears to have been of an ascetic nature.

If he were to mean the nobleness of the matter from which the pearl is created, then there is some point of view.

As regards the *Tau'amiyya*, there is the opinion that this name refers to some pairing<sup>1</sup> in contrast with the *Yatima* (orphan) or *Farīda* (unique) for pearls when found are paired as they are strung on a cord and are placed in the hand in two rows which are called *Akrās*, i.e., rows. For it is said that the *Kurrāsa* (quire of paper) is derived from this. When they are paired round the central pearl, one opposite the other, the name, *Yatima* ceases as it is no longer single on account of its sisters having come to it and one being placed opposite the other; this is called *Takārus*. Ibn ar-Rūmī<sup>2</sup> has said:

'Luxurious in growth (is the vegetation) as if the dew, after the sun has risen and the dew glistens on the branches, were pearls.'

He compares the dew which has fallen upon the branches of the intertwined tree with pearls after the day has risen and it is at its height and the sun is shining on its drops.

It is said that *Tūm* means the pearl itself when not split. Al-Aswad ibn Ya'fur<sup>3</sup> has said:

"With it (the wine) runs a man with two pearls (in the lobes of his ears), his garments tucked up, his fingers dyed red with peach-juice (wine)."

That is that they are red from the colour of the wine just as they might have been red through *Henna* having gently touched the skin; then the fingers of the praised one would be coiled with a redness as that of *Henna*. The word reddened does not actually mean by *Henna* itself in the same way as they (the fingers) are not actually dyed red with peach-juice. All he wants to point out is the youthfulness and childlikeness (of the cup-bearer).

It is said that the *Yatima* (orphan) was made from silver after the likeness of a pearl, in the same way the *Makhshalaba* (mother of pearl) is made from the oyster-shell after its likeness.

Similar is the case with the *Jumāna*, for it is said that it means a pearl while others say that it is made from silver. This word recurs in poetry and Imru'-ul-Qais<sup>4</sup> has said:

"When she perspires, the drops of her sweat upon the two sides of her back are like pearls of a polisher."

He has also said:

"Then my tears ran in streams like a flow of *Jumān* and *Durr* was their downflowing current."

1. Because *Tau'am* means twin.

2. 'Ali b. al-'Abbas b. Juraij, a prolific poet, who died in 283 or 284 A.H. His large collection of poems has been partly published (Ibn Khallikān I, 351; *Tārīkh Bagdad*, XII; 23).

3. A poet of the time of paganism of whose poems only few have been preserved.

4. The most renowned of all pagan poets, son of the Kindī king, Hujr. His poems are preserved and have been the model for later poets.

Another ('Antara)<sup>1</sup> has said :

"Is it on account of the cooing of a dove that the tears break forth falling upon the back of the sword-belt ?"

Hātim at-Ta'iy<sup>2</sup> has said :

"They have round their neck for the onlooker Jumān (pearls) rubies and well-joined Durr (pearls)."

Abuṭ-Ṭayyib (al-Mutanabbī)<sup>3</sup> has said :

"We went out in the morning shaking its branches on their (the horses') manes like pearls (Jumān)."

Abū Bakr al-Khwārazmī<sup>4</sup> has said :

"We drank and the trail of the night was drowsy, overturned and sleepiness drew a mark on his eye-lids.

"Like a white pearl (Jumān) which is split and the cord joined its two halves."

Another has said :

"We left at the small spring of Ḥusain,<sup>5</sup> the women of the tribe picking up the pearls (Jumān)."

He says that the women fled in fear at the time of the raid at the place (Ḥusain) mentioned near the towering mountain and the strings of their necklaces broke ; then when they felt safe they came back to pick up the pearls which had been scattered.

'Adī ibn Zaid<sup>6</sup> has said :

"He put round the neck a well-made scarf and pearls (Jumān) made beautiful by the stringing of virgin-maidens."

He specially mentions virgin-maidens because they are unconcerned about house-keeping and more concerned with adornment and it is their characteristic that they do not trouble about lust and husbands, hence they devote themselves in practising that (adornment) becoming adepts and in the task of stringing heads beautifully together on account of the tenderness of their hands and the suppleness of their skins because they are youthful.

An-Nābigħa has said :

"The virgin-maidens take to making necklaces and they thread them of consecutive pearls, pierced ones."

All these sayings admit that they are pearls properly, but also that they may be made of silver.

1. The pagan warrior poet. (Read in text المحمل , Miḥmal).

2. Another pagan poet renowned for his liberality.

3. Mutanabbī who was killed in 354 A.H. is acknowledged as the foremost of later Arabic poets. His *Diwān* has been repeatedly published and commented.

4. Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad, a renowned scholar and poet, who died in 403 A.H. (*Muntazam*, VII, 266 ; *al-Jawāḥhir al-Mudī'a*, II, 135).

5. Al-Ḥusain is here the name of a place and al-Bakrī cites the same verse slightly different (p. 296).

6. A pre-Islamic poet of al-Ḥīra in 'Iraq. His collected poems are lost, but single poems and verses are quoted abundantly.

Dhur-Rumma<sup>1</sup> has said :

"The drizzling rain from the top of his (the wild ass) stripes is like pearls (Jumān), pierced ones which run off the string (when broken)."

The words string and pierced are taken relatively as one running into the other as you say : I put the signet-ring on the finger while in reality you put the finger into the signet-ring.

Ibn Ḥamza<sup>2</sup> has said :

"On them are rubies and beads and silver and pearls like the colour of the sun, not left loose."

Qais ibn al-Mulavvah<sup>3</sup> has said :

"As if the beads (Jumān) of the goldsmith were on her whenever the night squirts its dew."

The mention of the goldsmith together with Jumān strengthens the belief that it is of silver, but goldsmiths also work the jewels which they do not manufacture and occupy themselves in handling them. Al-A'shā<sup>4</sup> has said :

"Whoever sees Haudha, prostrates himself, not being ashamed, when he puts the turban over the crown, or takes it off."

"He has crowns which the goldsmith has adorned with rubies in which you see no fault nor blemish."

This he says because Kisrā Parwēz<sup>5</sup> had honoured Haudha, the son of 'Alī, with a crown and the people of the tribe of Ḥanīfa<sup>6</sup> pretended that none of the Arabs ever saw him but prostrated himself on account of his majesty, nor any Persian because the image of Kisrā was on the crown ; for it was their custom (to prostrate themselves) when they saw his image on the silver Dirhams.

Al-Aswad ibn Ya'fur<sup>7</sup> has said :

"Of the wine of one (a cup-bearer) with ear-rings, of nasal voice, girded with a girdle, who brings it for the silver coins of the worshippers."

These two contradictory applications for the word Jumān are found in poetry but that does not mean that Jumān means a bead made of silver.

1. A celebrated poet of the first century of the Hijra.

2. I have not been able to identify this poet.

3. This poet whose poems all are love-poems is sometimes identified with the Majnun Banī 'Amir ; he lived in the first century of the Hijra.

4. A poet who lived to see the Prophet, but did not become converted. He is said to have died on his return journey from al-Medina through falling from his camel. He was the poet of wine.

5. The Persian king.

6. The large tribes settled in the Yamāma, who were later the chief adversaries of Khālīd in the campaign of the Ridda or apostacy.

7. See note 3, p. 407.

The saying of Labīd<sup>1</sup> makes it clear that it means a (real) pearl :

"It shines in the face of darkness, luminous like the pearl (Jumān) of the seafarer which has slipped from the string."

Al-Musayyab,<sup>2</sup> maternal uncle of al-A'shā, has said :

"Like the pearls (Jumān) of the seafarer which the diver has brought from the tossing waves of the sea."

The reference to the sea makes it clear that it is the pearl derived from it, and doubt is caused (only) when it is used in comparisons without the mention to it (the sea). Jamīl ibn Ma'mar al-'Udhri<sup>3</sup> has said :

"One of the fair ones, perfumed, whose chest is adorned with Jumān, rubies and joined pearls."

Here the rubies and pearls form the adornment and the joining is done by small pearls which separate (the other jewels) and the kind made from silver serves the same purpose as flakes of wool (used as tassels) compared with damask. Ibn al-Aḥmar<sup>4</sup> has said :

"The rustling of the ornaments under her garments is like the rustling of stubble which has been moved by the shaking wind."

"Jumān and rubies, the beads of which are like the burning coals of Ghadā-bushes,<sup>5</sup> adorning the sleeves dyed with saffron."

The (following) saying of Hudba<sup>6</sup> is one which admits only the meaning that they are manufactured :

"On them are adornments of the make of al-Madīna, Jumān like the bodies of small locusts,<sup>7</sup> and green cloaks."

Concerning Jumān it is said that it is Persian. If this be so then it is the same as Gumān.<sup>8</sup> This is the opinion but it remains uncertain whether it means a pearl or an imitation. This inclines one to think that the manufactured from silver is meant as there is seldom any doubt about (real) pearls as such doubt generally falls upon articles which resemble (the real one).

The following verse by an ancient poet is considered beautiful :

"My heart is with a slender maiden whose waistscarf is hanging loosely, moving about."

"On account of her beauty she may be compared with a pearl which the deep water has cast upon the shore."

1. A poet who lived to the time of Islam and became a convert : he was with 'Alī during the battle of Siffin.

2. Al-Musayyab b. 'Alas, a pagan poet ; his nephew has been mentioned in note 4, p. 409.

3. The great love-poet of the first century of the Hijra ; his poems are mostly addressed to Butnaina who had married another man. The account is found in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, II, 142-146 (II, 388 ff).

4. 'Amr b. Aḥmar al-Bāhili a poet of the first century of the Hijra estimated for the purity of his language.

5. The name of a thorny bush (an euphorbia) the coals of which are often described by Arabic poets of lasting brightness when burning.

6. Hudba b. al-Khṣṣham. He had killed Ziyāda b. Zaid, another poet and was imprisoned in Medina and finally killed by the relations of Ziyāda in blood-revenge (*Aghānī*, XXI, 263-276).

7. Arabic poets frequently compare red and green beads with the bodies of locusts.

8. However Gumān is not testified as meaning pearl or bead in the best Persian dictionaries.

This comparison has been found unattractive however because what the sea casts ashore are only dead shells and these are in that condition which borders on blemishes having decayed or being worm-eaten ; for the shell as long as it is alive stays in the depth and is not exposed to the waves so that it can be cast upon the shore. To this refers the verse of the poet Maṣrūr.<sup>1</sup>

“ Or like a lustrous pearl which laughs out of a shell which the tossing waves of the sea, full of foam, spit out.”

The Qāḍī Maṣūr<sup>2</sup> has said :

“ A young man, when the dew of his hands overflows, chokes with the downpour (of his gifts) whenever it streams down.”

“ Like the sea when it rages overflows with destruction, but casts up pearls when it is quiet.

Maṣūr does not mention in the first verse anything which has any connection with the comparison in the second verse except that he uses the word *like*, for if he compares the rising of the waves with destruction and the overflowing with the dew, then it is very far-fetched. As for his saying about pearls he makes a greater mistake and beautifies the lies of the poets ; for if he attributes to the sea the casting ashore of the pearls in a life shell, it requires a happening in the depth of the sea similar to earthquakes and earth-tremors such as occur on land so that which is in the depth is cast to the surface. There would be some reason in that, but that it casts them up when quiet is strange in the extreme. This is as if he were reciting this verse of al-Mutanabbī :

“ Like the sea which casts to those who are near (it) jewels out of generosity and sends clouds to those who are far off.”

He may have thought of this and changed for the casting the giving.

The Qāḍī Maṣūr has taken this (verse) from the verse of al-Mutanabbī :

“ He is the sea ; when it is quiet dive for the pearl ! but take care when it is foaming.”

Except that he spoiled the pearl and turned it into something else.

Ibn Samūda<sup>3</sup> has borrowed the idea when he says :

“ He does not know that the sea is crossed when it is quiet but if one day it is raging, the ship is wrecked.”

In all these sayings they compare the one praised with the sea for generosity, but Abul Faraj ibn Hindū<sup>4</sup> has lifted it from it when he says :

“ The sea treasures the pearl in its depth while the scum is bestowed upon those who come to it.”

1. This poet is entirely unknown ; he may have been a contemporary of the author.

2. He is Abū Aḥmad Maṣūr b. Muḥammad, judge of Herat, who died in 440 A.H. (Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VII, 189).

3. I have not been able to identify this poet, he too may have been a contemporary of the author.

4. Abul Faraj ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad b. Hindū, poet and philosopher, was one of the secretaries of the Buwaiḥī Sultān ‘Aḍud-addaula and died about the year 420 A.H. (Yāqūt, *Irshād*, V, 168 ; Yatīma, III, 212, etc.).



"The least which is given to those who come to his camp at even are pearls with which he answered where he calls out."

The sinking of the pearl and the rising of the scum are frequently handled by poets and they mention it often. Ibn ar-Rūmī has said :

"Corpses which stink come up upon the top of the waves while the pearls are hidden underneath under cover."

A poem is attributed to Shams al-Ma'ālī<sup>1</sup> in which this verse occurs :

"Don't you see that on the sea float corpses while in the utmost depth of it the pearls are lying firmly."

That is because the pearls cleave to and hide in the depth of the sea. In Tradition the saying is recorded : "Seek livelihood in the hidden places of the Earth ! " Oh ye divers of the sea, for the oyster-shell is one of the things which the Earth hides from the eyes." In the same way it is said : "Behold they are jewels in the mines or what has been buried of property in the buried treasures!" It is further said they (the treasures) are the increase of the Earth in the shape of what is hidden in the soil by husbandry. A poet has said :

"I said to 'Abd Allāh when I met him walking on the heights of Raqmatain going westward,

"Go after the hidden treasures of the Earth and pray to their Lord, perhaps one day you will be answered and prosper."

'Abd Allāh ibn Jud'ān<sup>2</sup> had found the treasure of gold in a bag which was hidden in a well and no one besides him used to extract from it of those who happened to come upon it. For they fancied it to be a rock protruding from the wall of the well like those enormous pieces of rock which had remained in it (the well). Now it happened that 'Abd Allāh one day looked at the water and saw on the lower edge something glittering like gold (and discovered the treasure) ; so he became rich through it being there. About this he said :

"I search for the treasures of the well (al-Judd) on its upper walls and creep under the earth with a lamp."

Al-judd was the name of that well. 'Urwa ibn az-Zubair<sup>3</sup> used to say to 'Abd Allāh ibn Shihāb :<sup>4</sup> "Hast thou no land ? Hast thou not heard the poet say : "Go after the hidden treasures of the Earth and pray to its Lord."

In the same manner is their comparison of goblets with pearls and the crusts of pearls, the wording of which is beautiful but the meaning is hackneyed, for what one wants of goblets is their transparency so that

1. Qābūs b. Washmīr, ruler of Gīlān, reigned from 366-371 and again from 388-403. Bērūnī dedicated his *Chronology of Ancient Nations*.

2. He is the person referred to in the preceding verse. He was a native of Mecca and it was said that he derived his unexpected wealth from a hidden treasure he had discovered. He was present at the fight at 'Ukāz, when the Prophet was a young man and one of his sons figures among the Saḥāba, Companions of the Prophet.

3. The celebrated Traditionist. As the date of his death are given the years 91, 92 and 93 A.H.

4. 'Abd Allāh b. Shihāb may be Abul Jazl al-Khawlānī (Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 254).

from outside can be seen what is inside without having to look from the top, so that it can be guessed by intelligence better than by looking at it from above. However the pearl has not this desired transparency. Ibn al-Mu'tazz<sup>1</sup> has said :

" A mixture of molten gold which is held together by a goblet like the crust of a white pearl."

Abū Nuwās<sup>2</sup> has said :

" As if their faces by their tenderness had skins made of pearls."

He has also said :

" A gazelle whom God has clothed with a skin that is of the crust of pearls."

" You see roses upon his cheeks any time you like."

As-Sanaubarī<sup>3</sup> has said :

" Pure corneal-water which is handed round, its vessel is of the lustre of a pure pearl."

Another poet says not mentioning the transparency :

" As if our goblets were silver-lined with red gold."

Ibn ar-Rūmī has said :

" It is Wars<sup>4</sup> in the white goblets, then when it appears against the faces, it is dragon-blood."<sup>5</sup>

Ibrāhīm an-Nazzām<sup>6</sup> has said :

" He (the cupbearer) runs about with a pearl inside a pearl from the hand of a pearl and the colour can be felt."

" Water and water and in water which makes circle round flowing in both and the imagination is guesswork."

Yet another poet has said :

" As if their filled goblets were of the crust of a pearl, the water of silver and the wine of gold."

The comparison of water with silver is worse and the fault lies in the fact that they equate a thing which is void of colour, like lucid water and crystal, with things that are white like milk and white stones like Mīnā and describe them both as being white. All poets are in this respect followers of Abū Nuwās who hit and missed the mark in his saying :

" Then the wine is a ruby and the goblet a pearl in the hand of a pearl of fine tall stature."

1. The unfortunate prince who was proclaimed caliph and killed the same night the 10th of Rabi' I, 296 A.H.

2. Al-Ḥasan b. Hānī', the celebrated poet of the time of Hārūn and al-Amin. His *Diwān* has been printed, very unsatisfactorily, several times.

3. Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥalabī, one of the poets of the circle of Saif ad-Daula al-Ḥamdānī. He is the chief exponent of poets dealing with flowers and gardens and died in 334 A.H. Collection of his poems was published by Muḥammad Rāghib aṭ-Ṭabbāk in Ḥalab in 1351.

4. Wars is a red dye derived from a plant growing in the Yaman, India and Abyssinia, identified as *Flemmingia Rhodocarpa* Bak. (Maimonides ed. Meyerhof No. 123).

5. Dragon-blood in Arabic Andam is the plant *Dracæna Draco* from which a red dye is derived.

6. Ibrāhīm b. Sayyār an-Nazzām, the head of the Mu'tazilites at Baṣra died in 221 or 231 A. H. (Al-Ash'ari, *Maqālāt*; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 128).

Also of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz concerning molten gold when he says :

" We weighed for her hard gold and she measured molten gold."

Another poet has said :

" I pay him the pure gold in weight and he pours it out and gives it by measure."

Yet another poet has said :

" I say when she speaks of them both in comparison : Which of the two in comparing is the gold ?

" They are both alike and the difference between them is that this one is solid and that is poured out."

Another poet has said :

" He moves about with a flask to which a strainer is fastened and then he pours into our cups moist gold."

Abū Tammām has said :

" Or a white virgin-pearl which has conceived from a red ruby."

He adds to the pearl the idea of virginity together with blood and conception, which holds back in the womb the blood of menstruation at the time of drinking. Similar is the verse of another poet in spite of its beauty :

" As if it (the wine) when the mixing (with water) disturbs it, were like swallowing pearls, then throw them back."

The swallowing and throwing back at the time of drinking leads to vomiting and this is not like a comparison of the drink with the crust of pearls because the pearl (in tint) is composed of whiteness with a slight tinge of yellow and ample lustre, things which are admired in the skin and there is no need for transparency to see what is beyond. An-Nuṣaib<sup>1</sup> has said :

" As if she had been created from the skin of a pearl and on every side of her is moon on account of her beauty."

Mānī<sup>2</sup> has said :

" As if his skin were of the crust of a pearl from which the parer has scraped off the skin of the oyster-shell."

Bashshār<sup>3</sup> has said :

" As if she had been created from the water of a pearl and beauty is on guard in all corners."

Al-Buhturī<sup>4</sup> has said :

" Yellowness appeared in his colour. Behold they praise of pearls those whose sides are yellow in a necklace."

1. A poet of the first century of the Hijra.

2. Mānī al-Muwaswas, the demented, a poet of the second century.

3. Bashshār b. Burd is as a poet generally considered the first of the post-classical ones. His *Diwān* exists in manuscript in Tunis and the *Shāikh* al-Islām has promised an edition.

4. Abū 'Ubāda al-Walid b. 'Ubaid Allāh, pupil of Abū Tammām. It is he whom Abul Qāsim al-'Amīdī gave the preference over Abū Tammām in his book *al-Muwāzana*, which Bērūnī attacks in the following discourse, defending Abū Tammām.

Al-'Amīdī says : Such (pearls) as have a slight yellowness are preferred to those of chalky whiteness just as gold is given preference over silver because a choice pearl of purest white which has recently been taken from the sea, when it becomes muddy in colour, progresses in this till it becomes black like a piece of sheep-dung. However, if the well-known slight yellowness makes its appearance in it, it is safe from that disease and one is certain that it will never decay. Abul Qāsim is honourable in his defence of eminent poets and not satisfied with those who do not approach them in excellence by their using wrong expressions. However, he gives preference to the colour of the Marjān before the whiteness of the pearl (Durr) and he interprets the saying of God : *As if they were ruby and pearls*, that it refers to the purity of the ruby together with the whiteness of the pearl and this is the composite colour which is praised in the skin. From this it is known that the pearl is not pure white and that the Marjān with its excess of whiteness has a share with it in the water and lustre though they may be more apparent in the Durr and more striking with a slight tint of yellowness which guards it against the likeness of chalk of the Qatā'ī pearls which might be thought to have been manufactured. So the praise is bestowed on account of that yellowness, just as it is praised for the lack of it (when excessive). Also the small beads which are placed between the pearls in a necklace may be of jade, or turquoise or lapis lazuli while mostly they are of gold. Then the reflected light from the gold-beads is it which casts the yellow tint upon them. For this reason did al-Buḥturī say : "Whose sides are yellow." Namely the edges near the pierced holes and hence the glistening, for, if it (the gold) were not to glisten, the yellowness would not be seen on it (the pearl).

A similar idea is expressed by Dhur-Rumma :

"Black-eyed with a fair forehead, yellow with a white skin as if she were (made of) silver mixed with gold."

This mixture produces a fairness which is extremely rare and this is generally what is important in the sale of slaves. It also indicates really the feeling of safety as such women are kept away from enemies for fear of attack, and not the anxiety about pimples, nor the excess of dislike and secret rancour ; for this reason there is another reading of this verse : Gold has touched her. This is really better as the touch is not as far reaching as the grade of mixing. This is it which made another poet say :

"White and yellow, two colours contending, those of silver and gold."

Similarly Ṭufail al-Ghanawī<sup>1</sup> has said :

"Of pure whiteness, tinted with yellow, the choicest of a lonely valley which is not inhabited."

1. A pagan poet renowned for his description of horses. His collected poems have been published by me in the Gibb Memorial Series.

Also the verse of Yazīd ibn at-Ṭathariyya :<sup>1</sup>

"A colour which bewilders the onlooker like the colour of ivory which has been associated with saffron-scent."

Abul Qāsim has by the side of the distinction between a pearl of yellow colour and the pure white one the distinction between gold and lead. If he were to mean only by this the colour there would be some consideration as the best gold is considered that which has a tinge of redness ; then if the pure whiteness of silver were placed by the side of the pearl, it would not be praised in the same way as those pearls which are placed near pure gold as they would be tinted with what is not praised and so there remains of his words only a tale which does not give confidence in the narrator nor in his truthfulness.

Sometimes the yellowness is the beginning of that disease which makes it black and both happen to the pearl after it had not been affected by them, and we find the yellowness to be a disintegrating change which originates from various causes like oil, perspiration and the essences of scents like saffron, *Khalūq*<sup>2</sup> and *Lakhālikh*.<sup>3</sup> There is however no doubt that what is required in a pearl is its whiteness with its adjuncts and yellowness is a fault in pearls, not to say that it is praised.

Abū Mansūr ath-Tha'ālābī,<sup>4</sup> after the manner of poets in making comparisons, has said about the handwriting of 'Alī ibn Muqla :<sup>5</sup>

"The writing of Ibn Muqla is such that whoever looks upon it with his eyes all his organs desire to be turned into eyes.

"The pearl turns yellow out of jealousy on account of its beauty and the rose on account of its flowers (the writing's) turns red out of confusion."

The becoming yellow completely of a pearl is however not like the reddening of the rose altogether, for the former is a fault and the latter is a praiseworthy quality. Some people explain the saying of the Almighty:<sup>6</sup> "And with them are (maidens) casting down their glances, large-eyed ones as if they were concealed (ostrich) eggs." That it means pearls

1. A poet of the first century of the Hijra. He was killed during the disturbances in Central Arabia after the death of the Caliph al-Walīd b. Yazīd in 126 A.H. The *Kitāb al-Aghānī* has a long account, Vol. VII, p. 10-124 ; VIII, 155-184).

2. *Khalūq* is a compound perfume of yellow colour, its chief component being saffron.

3. A composite perfume the nature of which I have not been able to ascertain, it was a kind of salve.

4. Celebrated author and poet who died in 429 A.H. The long list of his works may be consulted in Brockelmann's *History of Arabic Literature* (Suppl. I, 499-502).

5. The wazīr of al-Muqtadir. He was killed in 328 A.H. after his right hand had been cut off. He was celebrated for the beauty of his handwriting. I have not seen any of his writings, but one may judge from the writing of his pupil, Muḥammad b. Asad, master of the calligraphist, Ibn al-Bavvāb, that it resembled the forms of letters as in the well-known Beyrūt type. The statement often repeated that it was an adaption of the Kūfī script is false. There existed all along a Baghdādī script, of which manuscripts are in existence which did not differ considerably from the writing of Ibn Muqla only that the latter formed the letters rounder and more upright.

6. *Sūrat at-Ṣāffāt*, 37, v. 74.

as the Almighty has said :<sup>1</sup> " And there circle round them youths eternally who, if thou seest them, imaginest them scattered pearls." That he means pearls like in the saying of the Almighty :<sup>2</sup> " Among them circle youths of them who are like hidden pearls." Then say others that he compares the eyes of the large-eyed (beauties) with pearls on account of the bigness and whiteness both of which are lauded in pearls as they (the eyes) are guarded against harm by the eyelashes. Others say that he means ostrich-eggs the colour of which is a mixture of white and yellow and he compares their faces with them as they resemble them mostly, especially women and that they (the ostriches) keep them from sight with the plumes at the time of brooding so that no wind touches them nor dust soil them. Others say that it is dusk and what is intended is the whiteness of the egg and the yellowness of the yolk. Imru'ul-Qais has said :

" Like the virgin (ostrich-egg) tinted the white with yellowness which the limpid water has nourished, a spring which has not been visited."

They say that he meant the ostrich-egg and virginity in all things is lauded because in most things it points to the whiteness of youth and elegance. This means in eggs the time when they are laid and this does not take the place of the deflowering of the maiden head. Yet another says that he means the pearl as it is not pure white nor yellow but has a tinge of both mixed and its virginity means that it has not been pierced (for stringing) being only recently taken (from the sea). Then they criticise the mention of lucid water and say that it (the pearl) is not found in fresh water nor does it thrive in strongly salty water. Its beauty is in its coming out of what is evenly balanced and that is the lucid water though it may not be extremely palatable, except that he mentions its feeding in it. The desire for pearls is a thing which is found in all nations ; then if it is praised for yellowness, it is a matter to which they may be inclined among nations.

Al-Kindī says : If in a round pearl is a tinge of yellow, it pleases then people of the Īraq and the Maghrib, if it exceeds then the people of Īsfāhān like it better, so they are exported to both places and are named (exactly) after hem.

## CONCERNING THE CONDITION OF FRESH PEARLS

AS regards what has been mentioned concerning the moisture (freshness) in pearls its meaning is the water of its lustre, its splendour and the tenderness of its surface, also the complete purity, because freshness is an outstanding quality which stands for anything possessing water and takes its place and does not mean the opposite of dryness so that one might

1. *Sūrat ad-Dahr*, 76, v. 19.

2. *Sūrat at-Ṭūr*, 52, v. 24.

be amazed about it just as the Persians mention fluid gold. Abul Qāsim recites a verse by Abū Tammām :

"(Verses) set apart by pearls, selected ones, of poetry except that they are moist pearls."

He means the modern (poetry) and this is one of his inventions however he (al-'Amīdī) does not bring it out as praise or as being satisfied with it on account of his excessive leaning towards al-Buḥturī and his inclination against Abū Tammām though he claims to be impartial in his book on the "*Weighing up of the Poetry*" of both. For Abū Tammām invented it and the most competent (poets) followed him, then indulged in it and displayed patience. Everything modern is youthful in its kind whether it be an animal, a twig or a plant, for there is no doubt that it is more supple and moister on account of its being prepared for accepting growth. Therefore, if the pearl is growing in the shell, it has a share of that moisture, even if it be scanty ; hence he does not mean anything except its water and elegance though it may be harder than stone and iron. Likewise he ('Amīdī) finds fault with him saying "selected pearls." For he says : The selected in poetry is nothing but stolen property and it is ugly and gross to acknowledge that he has stolen an idea. Abul Qāsim must have known of this theft by some priestcraft or star-prognostication or by bird-augury for I cannot see any trace of it in the verse (cited). What can be the fault of a man when he says in his poem that it is set apart by pearls of a poetry full of water and lustre, chosen in their stringing together, freed from faults and trimmed from defects in which I have strained my mind in clearing it from faults as has been said by Ibn ar-Riqā"<sup>1</sup>

"Many a poem upon which I have spent the night in putting it together so that I might straighten what was crooked and faulty in rhyme."

Or like what al-Buḥturī has said :

"With (a poem) engraved like a gold coin, in which the words have been purified in selection the same as gold is purified."

This is the purification (selection) and were it not for his false accusation and hatred, he would know that he refers by the words '*of poetry*' to the poetry of others, not his own.

There is another aspect concerning the moisture (freshness) of the pearl though it may be far-fetched and that is that other jewels if they fall on the ground stay motionless while a pearl rolls on account of the slightest gravity of one side and likewise it slips away like the pip of an apple or a pear when they are moist and are squeezed between the fingers and may be cast a good distance. The reason is that its smoothness and stickiness is moist. Ibn al-Mu'tazz has said :

1. 'Adi ibn ar-Riqā', a poet of the first century of the Hijra. The verse here cited is celebrated and the whole poem from which it is taken has recently been published by 'Abdul 'Aziz Maiman in a collection of rare ancient poetical works entitled *Tarā'if Adabiyya*, Cairao, 1937.

"As if the filled goblet in his hands were a bride which has a girdle of moist pearls."

He means the moisture which almost drips on account of suppleness and tenderness. The Qāḍī Maṣṣūr has said :

"The zephyr-wind came carrying a greeting to us with the breathings of the garden and did satiate."

"It has awakened the flowers and the smile at us and their eyes (the flowers') shed tears with moist pearls."

Al-Khubzaruzzi<sup>1</sup> has said :

"Of pearl-like colour with the redness of wine mixed with milk."

"Like the moist pearl is the colour of the outside and in it (the goblet) is the water of cornel as a lining."

Another, namely aṣ-Ṣanaubarī has said :

"As if the narcisses in his garden, when the wind bends them nearby

"Were goblets of ruby which are handed to thee by fingers made of moist pearls."

The same poet has said :

"Goblets of rubies which are given to thee by fingers of moist pearls."

"On the right arm he has a mole like the core of the heart." He also has said :

"As if it were intensely black jade set with moist pearls."

He also said :

"As if it were on the horizon a piece of camphor from which drop moist pearls."

Numair al-'Uqailī<sup>2</sup> has said :

"Round her are virgins, black-eyed maidens, like a moist pearl (is she) whose glances bring the end of life nearer."

Numair al-'Uqailī also said about one pockmarked :

"Smallpox made a mark on his cheek, nay they made a mark in my heart."

"As if he were the full moon which, when complete, appears dotted with moist pearls."

This, by my life, is truly the moist pearl but to paint it so to the hearing is such that the blind lover loathes it and so does the heart when the blemishes of the beloved are mentioned. It is told of the Ṣāhib ibn 'Abbād<sup>3</sup> that he said when he heard the verse of 'Auf ibn Muḥallim:<sup>4</sup>

1. Naṣr b. Aḥmad, a baker, who made short poems which gained popularity in Baghdād ; he died in 317 A.H. (Ibn Khallikān, II, 153-156) Tha'libī, II, 132, etc.).

2. An unknown poet, apparently of a later period.

3. The celebrated wazīr, Ismā'īl ibn 'Abbād born in 326 and died in 385 A.H. (A long biography is found in the *Irshād* of Yāqūt, II, 276-343).

4. 'Auf b. Muḥallim al-Khubzā'i was a man of great learning and a poet and Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusain, the governor of Khorāsān, made him his companion. He died about the year 214 A.H. (Ibn al-'Imād, III, Ma'āhid at-Tanqīḥ, ed. Cairo, 1316, I, 127).



"Eighty years, and I have reached them, forced my ears to make use of an interpreter."

The words "*and I have reached them*" are a stuffing in the verse but it is a stuffing like that of almond-jelly. 'Alī ibn Zaid<sup>1</sup> has said :

"If thou wert the prisoner, and thou art not, then thou wouldst know what I say."

Not far from it in beauty and charm is the saying of Dhur-Rumma :

"A maiden with oval cheeks, slender waisted, youthful, large buttocked, whose smiles are like the sheet-lightening in a cloud.

"As if her mouth, and I have never tasted it, had the flavour of wine which is sweet through long keeping."

A commentary on the verse of Dhur-Rumma is the verse of Ibn ar-Rūmī :

"I have not tasted it except by observing her smile ; how many one who gives information is there who discloses it by his appearance to view."

The (mention of) the pearls in this verse has the opposite effect for it is like raking the deaf ear, a mote in the eye and choking in the nose, a colocynth in the mouth and a thorn to the touch and like gravel on the resting-place. How far it is from the saying of al-Wa'wa' ad-Dimashqī<sup>2</sup> concerning a sick person :

"White and yellow on account of the balance of various humours like a weakened narciss.

"His forehead is perspiring with drops as if they were split pearls."

Aṣ-Ṣanaubarī has said :

"Hoariness has come over me, poverty and manginess ; this is ruin, that evil and that death.

"If this scratching continues, there will remain no fingernail, nor any skin, nor flesh, nor sinew.

"Cannot you see it on the hands in strings like pearls, though they may not be pierced.

"Like a small grape it does appear and does not cease to grow in a way in which grapes do not grow.

"They have nicknamed it *beauty-spots*. Oh my soul ! That they were gone, because that nickname is wrongly placed."

Then the ascription of moisture to the pearl has been applied to all jewels and he (aṣ-Ṣanaubarī ?) has said :

"She joined together the necklace of her flowers with jewels, moist being her emeralds, damp her gold."

Nay it is applied after emeralds and gold to quite common beads

1. This poet and the following have been mentioned before.

2. A Syrian poet of the fourth century of the Hijra. His *Diwān* has been published by Kratchkorsky with a Russian translation in Petrograd, 1914.

(when a poet says :)

"Oh thou branch of moist jade, through thee has the pearl been brought to grief."

Now what will increase thy certitude of the bad opinion of Abul Qāsim concerning Abū Tammām is that he says concerning his verse :

"Therefore every eclipse is a disgrace in the pearly stars but it is more disgraceful in the sun and the moon."

The eclipse of a star is when it is hidden by another star in a lower sphere, but no one would miss it except astronomers ; so there is no disgrace for disgracefulness can only be if everybody can see it. Now Abū Tammām has made it ugly and uglier in the two great luminaries and you know that the meaning of ugliness in this case is the dislike about (the stars) taking a reverse course and the eclipse. For the eclipse of the sun and moon terms are used as regards the things which cover the two great luminaries by which part of their light or the whole disappear during the total darkness of the moon (new moon) or the fulness of the moon. Both do not happen together except at the time of the total collapse of the Universe as the Almighty has said :<sup>1</sup> "Then when the sight shall be dazzled and the moon shall be eclipsed and the sun and the moon shall be in conjunction." Whoever describes that as the eclipse of both is guarding against the doubt as regarding the eclipse of light which occurs at the time of some earthquakes. Concerning the stars the moon hides them in the same way as the sun and it may safely be called an eclipse, but it is also permissible that it may be due to scantiness of light which makes them disappear in the darkness. However as regards one star with another there cannot be any of that taking away of light, rather the joining together. The custom of astronomers is that they call it eclipse, but the *becoming one* seems to be more appropriate. Abū Tammām mentions this after the manner of this class of men and because it does not happen except at very distant periods which are not noticed by the mass of the people. They believe it to happen as it happens with the two great luminaries, because this is more evident and more established and the knowledge about them both is nearer to the hearts as they both are the heavenly signs of night and day and their eclipse is made the occasion for special worship like the written prayer on every night and day at rising of the dawn and the setting of dusk, as also the disappearance of the sun and its setting. So the obligation of prayer at the eclipse causes an increase of terror and fear, and especially if to it is added the gabbling of story-tellers and the babbling of astrologers in matters which guide to lofty and low things and people do not discriminate between what is special or general. The sun is with them the guide to great events and the moon to low ones. So Abū Tammām has been wronged by Abul Qāsim on most accounts.

F. KRENKOW.

(To be continued).

## MU'TAZILITE VIEW ON BEATIFIC VISION

THIS is not the occasion to give the history of the genesis, development and fall of the movement of the Mu'tazilites. Something of the sort has already been anticipated in some of my earlier contributions.<sup>1</sup>

Suffice it here to say that the term Mu'tazilites means the seceders from the Orthodox Church of Islam. They were a sect of Muslims with whom reason was the highest form of knowledge, even revelation pre-supposing it. The rationalist movement they started came into being towards the end of the Ummayyad period and subsequently flourished during the hey-day of the Abbasides only to collapse physically on the rise of the Imām Abul Hasan al-Ash'arī (d. 324/935).

As for the term *Beatific*, etymologically speaking, it means *making blessed*. In the ecclesiastical sense, however, Beatific Vision has come to signify only the Vision of God.

Unlike the vegetable kingdom or the animal world, where the function of life ends merely in growth, the propagation of species and decay, the life of an individual human being, or for the matter of that of the human race as a whole, has a greater destiny to fulfil. If a man were to live merely for the sake of living, he would be no different from either a plant or an animal. He has his duties towards himself, towards all those around him and the last but not the least towards his Creator. All he does, therefore, is not the be-all and the end-all of his life but is only a means to the highest good of his earthly existence.

Ever since the dawn of history the problem of the *summum bonum* has been engaging the attention of thinkers. The holy Qur'ān evidently points to this one thing when it says *Lilladhīna aḥṣanū alḥusnaḥ wa ziādah* "For those who do good is the best (reward) and more (thereto)."<sup>2</sup> The commentators have identified the best reward for the believers in

1. (a) *Dacca University Journal*, 1931.

(b) *The Muslim Hall Magazine* (Dacca University), Vol. V, 1932.

(c) *Ibid.*, 1933.

(d) *Ibid.*, 1934.

2. (a) Al-Ash'arī, *al-Ibāna*, p. 15.

(b) Marmaduke Pickthall, *The Glorious Qur'ān*, Vol. I, 26, X.

Paradise with the Beatific Vision.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly all the Muslim scholastic philosophers—both the Mu'tazilites,—a microscopic minority excepted,—and the Orthodox alike, have held<sup>1</sup> that the Beatific Vision is the *summum bonum* of life under the Islamic dispensation, although they have differed widely as to the nature of that vision.

To present the point of view of the Mu'tazilites on the question will be the aim of this thesis. But to appreciate the standpoint of the Mu'tazilites a comparative study of Orthodox opinion is a *sine qua non*.

To begin with, the Mu'tazilites are unanimous<sup>2</sup> on this, that God will not be seen with the physical eyes either in this world or in the next,<sup>3</sup> as in their opinion. He is above time and space.<sup>4</sup> With regard to His spiritual vision Abul Hudhail (d. 235/849) and the majority of the Mu'tazilites<sup>5</sup> maintained: "We shall see God with our minds' eye, i.e., we shall know Him through our hearts." Hishām al-Fuaṭī and his pupil,<sup>6</sup> 'Abbād b. Sulaimān have on the other hand denied even that,<sup>7</sup> i.e., in their opinion men, finite that they are, cannot have the vision of God, who is Infinite, even spiritually. They have maintained that what human beings can know is merely His name<sup>8</sup> and nothing more, as He is too high even to be conceived. These latter were pure nominalists. Perhaps they were the fore-runners of the nominalist philosophers of later days.

The Mu'tazilites contended that the Ultimate Reality cannot be seen with corporeal eyes :

## I. PROOF FROM THE QUR'ĀN

(a) *Lā tudrikuh ul-abṣār wa huwa yudrik ul-abṣār*, "Visions comprehendeth Him not but He comprehendeth (all) vision."<sup>9</sup>

They have advocated that the clause *huwa yudrik ul-abṣār* is of general<sup>10</sup> application, so as to mean that God sees the eyes both in this world and in the next and that when this has been connected with the clause *la tudrikuh ul-abṣār* of the same verse through the conjunction *wāw*, that must also be of general application so as to mean that eyes will neither see Him in

1. (a) Al-Ash'arī, *al-Ibāna*, p. 15.

(b) Ibid., p. 18.

(c) Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, I, pp. 157 and 216.

2. Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, Vol. I, pp. 157 and 216.

3. Al-Ash'arī, *al-Ibāna*, p. 18.

4. Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, Vol. I, p. 155.

5. Ibid., I, pp. 157 and 216.

6. Ibid., II, p. 495.

7. Ibid., I, pp. 157 and 216.

8. Ibid., I, pp. 165 and 166.

9. (a) Al-Ash'arī, *al-Ibāna*, p. 18.

(b) Marmaduke Pickthall, *The Glorious Qur'ān*, I, 103, VI.

10. Al-Ash'arī, *al-Ibāna*, p. 18.

this world nor in the next. For, of the two connected clauses, if one of them is known to be of general application, the other also must be so.

(b) *Lan tarānī*<sup>1</sup> "Thou wilt not see me," said God with an emphatic negation in reply to Moses' supplication: *Rabbī annī unẓur ilaika*, "My Lord! show me (Thyself) that I may gaze upon Thee."<sup>2</sup>

(c) "They asked a greater thing of Moses afore-time, for, they said, 'Show us Allah plainly.'" A storm of lightning seized them for their wickedness."<sup>3</sup> "Had they (the people of Moses)" asserted *Zamakhsharī* (497/1103 & 538/1143) "asked for a possible thing from him, they would not have been called 'wrong-doers' and would not have consequently been overtaken by the storm of lightning, just as Abraham was neither called a transgressor nor was he stricken by storm when he asked his Lord to show him the quickening of the dead."

## 2. PROOF FROM OPTICAL SCIENCE

"In order that one may see something," averred the Mu'tazilites, "the following conditions must be fulfilled<sup>4</sup> by the seer as well as the seen as the case may be:

"(a) One must possess sound sight. It is for this reason that the degree of vision varies in proportion to the soundness or otherwise of the sense of sight.

"(b) The object of vision must be visible and present to the eye (the sense of sight) which must not be indifferent to it nor must it be under the influence of sleep or anything akin thereto.

"(c) The object of vision must be in front of or opposite to the eye just as a thing to be reflected in a mirror must needs be opposite to it.

"(d) It must not be too small to be seen.

"(e) It must not be too fine to be looked at, i.e., it must be a coloured object and be sufficiently coarse.

"(f) It must not be too distant from the eye, and the visible distance is to be judged in accordance with the power of one's sense of sight.

"(g) It must not be too near to the eye either. For, when the object to be seen touches the surface of an eye, it loses the power of vision altogether.

"(h) There must not be anything opaque interposing between an eye and the object of its vision."

1. (a) *Zamakhsharī, Kashshāf* (Egypt), I, p. 346.

(b) Marmaduke Pickthall, *The Glorious Qur'ān*, I, 143, VII.

2. Ibid.

3. (a) *Zamakhsharī, Kashshāf* (Egypt), I, p. 235.

(b) Marmaduke Pickthall, *The Glorious Qur'ān*, I, 153, IV.

4. (a) *Sharif Jurjānī, Sharh Mawāqif*, VIII, pp. 135 and 136.

(b) The conditions in question have been attributed to the opponents who can safely be identified with the Mu'tazilites.

In the opinion of the Mu'tazilites, since God as an object of vision does not satisfy the relevant conditions laid down above, He cannot be seen with bodily eyes.

Once the Mu'tazilites denied the corporeal vision of God, they had to explain away all such verses of the Qur'ān as went against their contention. The following verse may be cited as an illustration :

*Wajuhun yawma'idhīn nādiratun ila rabbiḥā nāẓirah*<sup>1</sup>—"That day will faces be resplendent, looking towards their Lord." In their opinion *al-Nāẓaru ila* as occurs in the above verse means *at tawaqqu'* (hoping) and *ar-rijā* (expecting) and *rabbiḥā* stands for *ila thawābi rabbiḥā*.

They have adduced lexicographical proofs<sup>2</sup> in support of their meaning. The people of Sunnah have, on the other hand, held that God will be seen in the next world with physical eyes<sup>3</sup> in the same way as the full moon is seen.

*Al-Ash'arī* as their spokesman has advanced the following proofs in support of the proposition :—

## I. PROOF FROM THE QUR'ĀN

(a) *Rabbī arinī unẓur ilaika*<sup>4</sup> "My Lord! show me (Thyself) that I may gaze upon Thee." He has contended that had the vision of God been impossible of realization, Moses would not have asked for it.

(b) *Fa-in istaqarra makānahu fa-sawfa tarānī*.<sup>5</sup>—"If it stands still in its place, then thou wilt see me." *Al-Ash'arī* has held that since the vision of God has been attached to a condition namely the standing still of the mountain, admitting of realization, it shows that the vision itself is realizable.

## 2. PROOF FROM THE TRADITION

"You will see your Lord as you see the full moon whilst you will not disagree amongst yourselves in regard to His vision."<sup>6</sup>

1. (a) *Zamakhsharī, Kashshāf* (Egypt), II, p. 509.

(b) *Marmaduke Pickthall, The Glorious Qur'ān*, II, 22 and 23, LXXV.

2. *Zamakhsharī, Kashshāf* (Egypt), II, p. 509.

3. *Al-Ash'arī, al-Ibāna*, p. 10.

4. (a) *Al-Ash'arī, al-Ibāna*, p. 14.

(b) *Marmaduke Pickthall, The Glorious Qur'ān*, I, 143, VII.

5. (a) *Al-Ash'arī, al-Ibāna*, p. 15.

(b) *Marmaduke Pickthall, The Glorious Qur'ān*, I, 143, VII.

6. (a) *Al-Ash'arī, al-Ibāna*, p. 16.

(b) *Al-Tirmidhī* with the commentary of *al-Imām Abū Bakr b. al-'Arabi al-Mālikī*, X, p. 18.

(c) *Abu Dāwūd* on the margin of *al-Mu'aṭṭa* of *Imām Mālik* with the commentary of *az-Zarqānī*, p. 182.

3. LOGICAL PROOF<sup>1</sup>

- (a) God can show us everything that exists.  
He exists.  
∴ He can show Himself to us.
- (b) He, who sees things, sees himself.  
God sees things.  
He sees Himself.
- (c) He, who sees himself, can make himself seen.  
God sees Himself.  
∴ He can make Himself seen.
- (d) The highest good is realizable in the highest world.  
Beatific vision is the highest good.  
∴ Beatific vision is realizable in the highest world.

4. PHILOSOPHICAL PROOF<sup>2</sup>

Those, who deny the Beatific vision of God, reduce Him to a non-entity—a mere abstraction (stripping God of His reality).

## REFUTATION BY THE MU'TAZILITES OF THE ORTHODOX ARGUMENT

## 1. REFUTATION OF THE QUR'ANIC PROOF

(a) "My Lord! show me (Thyself) that I may gaze upon Thee."<sup>3</sup> Zamakhshari has it that Moses said this in spite of his conviction and statement to the people that the vision (corporeal) of God was an impossibility to him only to elicit some divine revelation to this effect for the satisfaction of his own people, who were persistent in their demand that he should show God in person, and not because of the fact that he knew that the Divine vision was a possibility as the people of Sunnah have asserted.

(b) "If it stands still in its place, then thou wilt see me."<sup>4</sup> Zamakhshari has argued that the vision of God is an impossibility in as much as it has been made conditional upon the standing still of the mountain under reference. As it was later razed to the ground as a result of the revelation

1. Al-Agh'ari, *al-Ibāna*, pp. 17 and 18.

2. Do p. 17.

3. (a) Zamakhshari, *Kashshāf* (Egypt), I, 346.

(b) Marmaduke Pickthall, *The Glorious Qur'ān*, I, 143, VII.

4. (a) Zamakhshari, *Kashshāf* (Egypt) I, 347.

(b) Marmaduke Pickthall, *The Glorious Qur'ān*, I, 143, VII.

of the Divine Glory, in the opinion of the Mu'tazilites, the Orthodox assertion in favour of the possibility of the vision of God fails.

## II. REFUTATION OF THE PROOF FROM THE TRADITION

As for the tradition.—“You will see your Lord as you see the full moon while you will not disagree amongst yourselves in regard to His vision,”<sup>1</sup> the Mu'tazilites have held that the tradition in question is of the category of *aḥād*<sup>2</sup> and as such is not acceptable<sup>3</sup> when in conflict with such an explicit verse of the Qur'ān as:—“Vision comprehendeth Him not but He comprehendeth (all) vision,” and the like.

Al-Ash'arī has refuted this in his *Al-Ibāna*, but a writer of his school, popularly known as Imām al-Haramain, has it<sup>4</sup> that the Imām al-Ash'arī has maintained that God will be seen neither in space and time nor with modality as He sees us while He is not in space and time nor is He of any modality. Now, the question of all questions for us is how to reconcile the view of Al-Ash'arī as adumbrated in his *Ibāna* that God will be seen with physical eyes unconditionally in the next world with that as given above by Imām al-Haramain? To my mind *Ibāna* is one of the earliest works of Al-Ash'arī which must have been written immediately after his conversion to Orthodoxy and as such the point of view he enunciated therein had to be a popular one and for the matter of that an anthropomorphic one and not the one which he himself, as one of the greatest scholastic philosophers of Islam, held.

It stands to reason that the view as set forth by Imām al-Haramain and accepted by the later Ash'arites like Ghazzālī<sup>5</sup> (d. 505/1111) and the philosophers like the Imām Fakhr<sup>6</sup> ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) is the view *bona fide* of al-Ash'arī, which he communicated particularly to his intellectually gifted pupils.

Further, the Imām Najumuddīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142), a mouth-piece of the Māturīdite<sup>7</sup>

1. Supra note 6, p. 425.

2. In the science of tradition it is used as an abridged plural of *Khabar al-wāḥid* which, as contrasted with *Mutawātir ḥadīth* communications, come not from a larger number of trustworthy companions (*aṣḥāb*) but from a single person. (Extract) E.I., I, 182.

3. Aḥmad Amīn, *Duḥal Islām*, III, pp. 27 and 28. This is my secondary source. Professor Aḥmad Amīn has not mentioned the original authority from which he has quoted his statement.

4. Ibn-'Asākir, *Tabyyīn*, pp. 149 and 150.

5. Ghazzālī, *Iḥyā*, I, p. 79.

6. Fakhr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-Ghaib*, IV, p. 285; read with VI, p. 5.

7. Abu Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Ḥanafī al-Mutakallim al-Māturīdī al-Samarḳandī is the titular head of the Māturīdite school of theology which, with the Ash'arite school, forms Orthodox Sunnite Islam. He died at Samarḳand in 333/944. (Extract) E. I., Vol. III, 415.



section of the Muslim scholastic philosophers has it<sup>1</sup> " That the believers have a vision of God most High in Paradise and that He is seen, not in a place nor in a direction or by facing or the joining of glances or the placing of a distance between him who sees and God most High."

Having come so far, it is now for the readers to say whether or not both the Māturīdites and the later Ash'arites have *ipso facto* accepted the Mu'tazilite thesis on the subject.

ABDUS SUBHAN.

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1. (a) 'Aqd'id al-Nasafi (Fakhr al-Matābi'), Lucknow, p. 10.

(b) Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, appendix I, p. 310.

# A MODERN ANALYSIS OF ARABIC POETRY

*Die Wirklichkeitweite der früh-arabischen Dichtung.* Eine Literatur-wissenschaftliche Untersuchung von Gustav von Grünebaum. Beihefte zur Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Herausgeber : Nikolaus Rhodokanakis.—3 Heft Wien, 1937.

IN the introduction to his commentary on the *Mu'allaqāt*, Nöldeke professed that he did not think it worth while to study Arabic poetry for the sake of its intrinsic value as poetry. Its poetic substance, he said, was so little that were it not for the sake of Arabic philology, for the purpose of understanding the linguistic structure of the Arabic language—the language in which the Qur'ān, the sacred book of the Muslims, is written—its study would not be worth the effort, especially because the difficulties in understanding it were very great, in some cases well nigh insurmountable. Wellhausen in his *Diwān der Hudhailiten* concurred in this opinion. About the same time, however, Georg Jacob was the first to realize that the study of Arabic pre-Islamic poetry was one of the most important tasks of the Arabist, for he realized that we would be able to derive from it a picture of Bedouin life. The importance of Jacob's *Beduinenleben* can hardly be over-estimated, for it opened up an entirely new vista for the student of Arabic poetry. After its publication, we can no longer regard the study of Arabic poetry only as an indispensable but cumbersome task for any one who would understand an Arabic text, but it has been studied since then for its value as an historical source and as an art. We have, thus, the valuable introductions and commentaries to the more modern editions of Arabic poetry, such as Lyall's edition of the *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, Krenkow's edition of the *divāns* of 'Abīd b. al-Abras and 'Amir b. aṭ-Ṭufail, and the beautiful translations of Arabic poetry as poetry, especially those of Lyall and Nicholson or Georg Jacob's version of *Shanfarā's Lāmiyya*. We have, furthermore, important studies of the *divāns* of individual poets, e.g., that of Qais b. al-Khaṭīm by Kowalski and that of al-Khansā' by Rhodokanakis, both of which are devoted to the problems arising from the contents or the character of their poems. We have, further, the study of the *nasīb*—a part of the *qaṣīda* but self-contained and easily detachable from it—which I undertook some years ago. All these studies have the avowed purpose not only to collect the work of a poet or to analyse a *genre* of Arabic poetry but also to gain an insight into its structure and the social and historical background against which we should see Arabic poetry.

In consequence of these endeavours to understand the poet's environment, our outlook on Arabic poetry has undergone a complete change, and we have gained—or in any case we are trying to gain—a better insight into its essence, which led to a revaluation of its intrinsic value as poetry.

It is easily understandable that such a change in our outlook sooner or later would lead to a demand for an investigation of Arabic poetry as art. It might seem too early to undertake a comprehensive study of this kind in view of the many problems that still remain unsolved, *viz.*, the analysis of the various parts of the *qaṣīda*, such as the description of the camel, the *fakhr*, the *hijā'*, etc., in the same or a similar way as has been done in the case of *nasīb*; questions of style, for instance, whether there is a difference in the style of individuals living at the same time. And yet it is impossible to withhold praise from the recent book of Gustav von Grünebaum, *Die Wirklichkeitweite der früh-arabischen Dichtung*, in which the young Orientalist has undertaken a study of early Arabic poetry up to the Umayyad period, viewing it as work of art and applying such principles of literary criticism as are generally employed at the present day. As the problem attacked is a very interesting and important one, I feel justified in giving a rather detailed summary of the contents of the book, which is written in German and in a somewhat individualistic style, not too easy for non-German readers to follow.<sup>1</sup>

The essay is divided into two parts. The first part gives an analysis of the various classes of Arabic poetry, with many examples in translation in support of the author's thesis. Each topic of the *qaṣīda*, *viz.*, the *fakhr*, the *hijā'*, the *nasīb*, the description of the camel has been submitted to a thorough examination, not so much from the point of view of the philologist but with regard to its poetical substance. Thus the relation between the poet himself and his surroundings, as it appears in his poem, is made the central problem of the examination and the question is asked what rôle the poet's own experience plays in his art. Whereas in European poetry, the poet feels himself as an individuum facing nature and the events in life and history alone as an individuum, the Arab poet all but identifies himself with his tribe. This is the reason why Arabic poetry hardly shows any biographical traits, and even in the *iftikhār*, the self-laudatory poetry, the estimation of what is praiseworthy is based on generalizations rather than on individual features. Even when the poet tries to characterize his individuality, the background against which he depicts his personality is the society of his tribe and it is by social standards that he judges himself. If the poet in his self-laudatory odes uses standardized praise, this is even more true of the praise of his tribe, in which the characterization is typified according to the qualities regarded as necessary in heroes. The same typification takes place in the *hijā'*, the

1. In another essay, the author under review has tried to analyze Arabic poetry and to ascertain the indebtedness of one poet to another. He has thus tried to differentiate between various poetical schools and to establish classes of Arabic poets.

class of poetry which aims at deprecating a man or a tribe, and which sometimes completely blasted their character. This conception of poetry not as a means of self-expression but as a factor in social life, is the reason why even such poems as deal with the most intimate sphere of human life, with love and death, seem to be lacking in the personal touch and to be using standardized motifs and stereotyped symbols. In the *nasib*, for instance, the poet is forced by convention to sing of a distant woman whose love he has enjoyed in the past ; he has to submit to a pattern which forces him to mention certain topics and to disregard others. Although we can often sense the genuineness of feeling pervading a poem, tradition forced the poet to use the conventional forms. Only a few poets—and these are certainly the real great ones—occasionally dare to break through this barrier and pour their own deep feelings into the traditional themes—love, hatred, praise, provocation or supplication. In the later period, however, some sort of romanticism develops in love poetry. The type of lover, who mourns at the *atlāl* but regains his spirits by recollecting his many adventures and feats, is replaced by the faithful lover who pines away with grief. Some of them have become proverbial and are cited in later poems as typical examples of faithful lovers.

On the whole, we may say, there is a lack of deeper feeling, of searching into the deeper strata of man's experience ; there is not even a desire to understand the problems of human relationships, if they are realized at all. Only the superficial attitudes—tribal pride, hostility and enmity between tribes or persons, love and the appraisal of one's own personality—are felt and only in their external features ; but the deeper problems do not find, consciously or unconsciously, any expression in Arabic poetry. The same holds good in the relation between man and his non-human surroundings. For the Bedouin living in the desert, the animal world is near to his own—he observes closely not only his most valuable possession, the camel, but also the wild animals which he sees on his long rides through the desert. But here again the poetical expression is limited : not only is it sufficient to give a detailed description of the animal, its surroundings and its habits, which is done in an associative manner, but even the choice of animals which may be mentioned in a poem is restricted. A detail is associated in the poet's mind with another which is often not at all related to the first ; comparisons are frequent where the *tertium comparationis* is striking and strange. But above all, the human, animal and inanimate spheres are not strictly separate but mix freely with each other : comparison such as that of a woman with a gazelle or that of a man with a sword are not rare.

In spite of the minute observation and detailed description of natural phenomena and of animals and the inanimate world, nature as such has no place in Arabic poetry. Only in as far as it is friendly or hostile towards man it is included in his thoughts and is observed only in its relation to his own life. Thus, the description of a storm, of winter or summer and other similar topics are introduced not for their own sake but in order to

characterize the hero of the poem—his endurance, his hospitality, his courage or to emphasize the desolateness of the landscape, or else, as in the *nasīb*, to illustrate the poet's grief. Thus, man is the central figure in Arabic poetry, while everything else is subordinate to him; and it is the narrowness of his conception of the human soul that accounts for the limitations of the whole style.

In the second part of the essay, the author examines what he calls *die Tragfähigkeit der Form*, that is how far the strict schematism of the Arabic *qaṣīda*, with its many obligatory motifs and themes allows what Grünebaum calls *Wirklichkeitweite*, that is, the extent to which reality may enter the range of poetry and how far it can be and has been sublimated by poetical creative power. In contrast to the usual view of the scholars that the different parts of the *qaṣīda* are connected only very loosely with each other, Grünebaum points out that there is often a distinct structural unity in them. On the other hand, the poet often emphasizes one or the other of the obligatory themes of the *qaṣīda*, sometimes to the extent that an ode which has come to us only as a fragment was composed intentionally as such. But again the inability of the Arab to get away from details and associative thinking prevents him from producing a poem which abstract thought would lift into the sphere of timeless humanity. Although the Arab fails to see the inner connexion of events—or at least does not admit it in his poetic expression which may be described as "pointilliste," his way of thinking, is historical—none-the-less many poems meant to celebrate a specific historical event would be unintelligible to us without a commentary. Consequently, although we must classify Arabic poetry as mainly lyrical, the principal characteristic of lyrics in our sense as compared, for instance, with Greek poetry—its general validity regardless of time or locality or differences of race or creed, its *Allgemeingültigkeit*—is lacking. The only branch of Arabic poetry which comes near to this conception is the *marāthī* poetry.

It is impossible to reproduce in a short review the many interesting and subtle ideas that are found in the author's interesting book. I have tried to give its gist and general trend only. He has submitted Arabic poetry to a searching and detailed analysis and has thus opened up new vistas and shown new ways of interpreting it. Although there are points in his interpretation with which one cannot agree, he points out new ways of obtaining a deeper understanding of Arabic poems. The selection of examples by which he tries to support his thesis also shows a fine sense for artistic values and proportions, although sometimes one is inclined to interpret one verse or another differently. For example, speaking of the *nasīb*, Grünebaum like many other scholars, points to the rigidity of its structure which prevents expression of individuality or personal feeling to such an extent that even the deepest impressions are clad in the most commonplace terms. Grünebaum cites, as an example, a *nasīb* of Ibn-Qais ar-Ruqaiyat and the prose narrative of the incident to which the *nasīb* refers, pointing out that it would be impossible to know the real

emotions of Ibn-Qais from the poem alone. In my essay on the *nasīb*, I have tried to oppose this traditional view of the stereotyped and schematic character of the *nasīb* and have tried to show how in the literature of every people there are types and patterns of form—moulds so to say—into which the poet's individual feelings have to be cast. I may adduce one instance from German literature very similar to that of Ibn-Qais, quoted by Grünebaum. Who would be able to guess the story that inspired Goethe to write his beautiful poem, *Gefunden*?

Ich ging im Walde so für mich hin  
 Und nichts zu suchen, das war mein Sinn.  
 Im Schatten sah ich ein Blümlein stehn  
 Wie Sternlein leuchend, wie Äuglein schön.  
 Ich wollt' es pflücken, da sagt es fein :  
 Soll ich zum Welken gebrochen sein ?  
 Ich grub's mit allen den Würzlein aus  
 Zum Garten trug ich's, am hübschen Haus.  
 Und pflanzte es wieder am stillen Ort ;  
 Nun zweigt es immer und blüht so fort.

In our textbooks of literary history, we are told that he composed it after having met Christiane Vulpius, an unsophisticated woman, whom the great German poet loved and took into his house, marrying her later. But the poem depicts a lover of nature, who bends over a flower to pluck it, and touched by its beauty digs it out root and branch, in order to plant it in his own garden. It is, however, to be admitted that Goethe has found an individual expression for his emotional experience, whereas the Arab poet uses conventional forms for the purpose. But, then, Goethe lived in an age when the individual had become conscious of his individuality and was no longer forced to remain within the sphere and limitations of his caste or tribe, that is, when he was able to feel a "citizen of the world." The more I think over this problem of schematism, the more I am convinced that our judgement of early Arabic poetry, especially of the period with which Grünebaum is mainly concerned, stands in need of a drastic revision.

As I have tried to show above by means of a simple but outstanding instance, we will find in analysing European poetry the same restriction in the choice of motifs, the same attempt to express personal experience in a more general form. Moreover, how many poets of one generation survive in the memory of the succeeding ones? How many contemporaries of Shakespeare have survived, not in learned dissertations but in the consciousness of the people? How many Miltons, Burns or Wordsworths are there? In order to assign to Arabic poems a high place in world literature, it would suffice to recall such masters of Arabic poetry as al-A'sha, Imra' al-Qais and 'Abid. In judging the artistic qualities of Arabic poetry, therefore, we have to be very careful not to look upon its strangeness to our world as a demerit.

The above remarks are not at all meant to detract from the value of Grünebaum's book in the least. They would on the contrary show that it is a book which stimulates one's thoughts and in which there are many new and fruitful ideas.

DR. MISS ILSE LICHTENSTAEDTER.

## ARAB NAVIGATION<sup>1</sup>

ARABIA is surrounded on three sides by water, having the Persian Gulf on the east, the Indian Ocean on the south, and the Red Sea on the west. Hence in the literature of the first and second centuries A.H. it is named Jazirat-ul'Arab (Island of Arabia) and the boundaries of its seas are definitely mentioned.<sup>2</sup>

Arabia, with the exception of Yemen and other coastal regions, is noted for its aridity and barrenness. The people of such a country have naturally to be a commercial community. Accordingly from the time that Arabian history is first known, the Arabs have been conspicuous for their commercial enterprises. Nearly two thousand years before the birth of Christ, the caravan<sup>3</sup> which took Joseph to Egypt consisted of Arab traders. The Arab merchants, from time immemorial, had been busy by land and water, and their trains of camels had been seen moving in all the neighbouring countries. For details readers may refer to my book *Arḍul-Qur'ān*.

But here we are concerned more with the navigation of the Arabs than with their commerce. Arabia is linked with other big countries by sea. There lies the Indian Ocean between Arabia and India ; a part of Iran also is connected by means of a river ; Abyssinia which was once a great centre of Arabian commerce is also approachable through the sea. Chinese goods were accessible to the Arabs after crossing the Indian Ocean and the Sea of China. They came in contact with Roman tradesmen on reaching the Mediterranean Sea through Syria. The fertile and verdant provinces of Arabia, viz., Bahrein, Yamama, Oman, Haḍramaut and Yemen ; all lie on the sea-coast. All these natural circumstances made the Arabs a seafaring nation.

Information as regards Arab navigation in the Days of Ignorance can be gleaned from three sources : 1. old Arabic lexicons ; 2. Pre-Islamic poetry, and 3. Religious books of the pagan Arabs. To take them in the above order, we find numerous terms for navigation, sea-voyages, ships, etc., in the oldest lexicons. These include some foreign words also, which

1. Adopted from Urdu by Syed Ṣabāḥ Uddin 'Abdur-Raḥmān, Fellow of Shibli Academy, Azamgarh.

2. Vide Tirmidhi, Chapter : لا يبقی فی الجزيرة دیان , and Yaqūt's *Mu'jam'ul Bulḍān*.

3. *Safar Takween*, pp. 25-37.



prove the naval associations of the Arabs with alien people. To begin with, the Sea in Arabic بحر means both 'river' and 'sea.' بَحْر also signifies both these meanings. The Holy Qur'ān has used this word both for the River Nile and the Red Sea (Tāhā : 2). Then comes قاموس an ocean. It is derived from قَمَس , which means 'to dive into.' قَمُوس is "that deep well into which a bucket may sink." Another form of the word قَمِيس or قُومِس signifies 'sea ;' its plural is قَمَامِيس . There is one more word قَلَمَس , which means 'a well or a river having plenty of water.' خَضَم is a 'river' but خَضْرَم also means 'sea' (vide Qāmūs of al-Firozabadi). Other expressions also occur showing a variety of names used.

## BOATS OR SHIPS

IN old Arabic two words سَفِينَه and فُلْكَ were commonly used for boats. Both are of pure Arabic origin. سَفِن means 'to peel wood with a wedge' so سَفِين or سَفِينَه is wood so peeled. *Falak* means a 'wave of the sea,' and possibly has some connection with the word *Fulk* signifying 'ship.'

Among the old Arabian poets, Ṭarafah and A'ashā have used the word بَوْصَى for "boat." Arab lexicographers are of the opinion that this word is an Arabicised form of the Persian بوزی . These two poets have also used خَلِيَه for bigger boats, i.e., ships, while *Jāriyah* and its plural *Jawārī* occurs in the holy Qur'ān for the same object.

Small boats, which accompanied big ships either for use in time of danger or to carry extra cargo were known as قَوَارِب . The plural is قَوَارِب and اقرب (vide *Liṣān-ul-'Arab*). In connection with the tradition of Anti-Christ, we read in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* بَخَلَسُوا فِي اقرب السفينه (then they sat in the ship's small boats).

During the Abbaside period many new words were in vogue for boats. Abu 'Alī Moḥsin Tanukhī (died 389 A.H.) has used a word طَيَّار for a type of Tigris<sup>1</sup> vessels favoured by the nobility, as well as *Zauraq*,<sup>2</sup> which was a small boat for pleasure trips. Similarly سَنْبُوك or سَنْبُوك or سَنْبُوك were specially used by the people of Hejaz, and مَعَادِي (plural مَعَادِي) also meant small boats.

1. Vide *Nashẓat-ul Mahādirah*, pp. 16, 39, Margoliouth Edition.

2. Ibid. p. 36.

3. *Shafā-ul-Ghālī*.

## NAVIGATION TERMS

ملحة : NAVIGATION, is derived from ملح :—‘brackish and salt’; so, he, who made salt out of sea-water was formerly known as ملح . Later on, he, who went to sea, also was called by that term and *Milāhat* was used for ‘following the sea for a living.’ Another word for it is *Sifānat* which obviously comes from *Safīnah*. Therefore a mariner is known as *Mallāh* and *Saffān*; and محار from بحر is another synonym.

Amongst the Arab sailors of the Persian Gulf, a word ناخوذه (plural نواخذہ) was in use. This is a combination of the Hindī ‘Nāo’ and the Persian ‘*Khudā*’ meaning master of the boat’: a captain. Similarly the Arab sailors of the Mediterranean Sea were known as ‘*Nutī*’ and ‘*Navvāt*.’

Ibn ‘Abbās, explaining a Qur’ānic verse mentions انهم كانوا نواتين اى ملاحين (‘they were *Navvāt*, i.e., sailors) vide *Lisān-ul-‘Arab*’. According to Jauhri it was borrowed from the Syrians (see *Saḥāḥ*, under art. نوت which is a good clue to its Latin-Greek connections, ‘*Nautikos*’ coming into English as *navy*, *nautical*, and *nausea*. In southern India there live a people of Arab blood known as *Nayat* or *Nawayat*. They may be descendants of the same *Nawayats*, i.e., Arab sailors, who colonised the Indian coast.

*Khallāsi* signifying in Urdu ordinary servant and sea-man employed on ships has really an Arabic origin :— *Khalās* meaning a mixture of white and black, and *Khallāsi* is a child born of a black mother and a white father or *vice versa*, (vide *Lisān-ul-‘Arab*). The Arabs usually employed Abyssinian women as household maids. Children born of such slave-girls were very often enrolled for service on the ships and called خلاسى. ‘داری’ was another expression used for ‘a sailor in charge of the sail’ and ‘صاری’ probably its variant for ‘sailor’ also occurs in old Arabic.

In later Arabic ‘*Rabbān*’ has been most common for the ‘ship-captain.’ Perhaps it was derived from ‘*Rabb*,’ which means ‘master and lord.’ In old Arabic its meaning was ‘entire,’ but it is probable that it is an Arabicised form of the Persian word ‘*Raḥbān*,’ which means ‘a person who sees a ship going on the right path.’ دیدبان commonly used by Arab sailors, is another word of pure Persian origin. The man who sat on the look-out, watching for a storm or iceberg or any other danger was called دیدبان : an onlooker.

In the Abbaside period *Mallāh* and *Khallāsi* were subordinates and high-ranked sailors were known as ‘*Rausā*’ (officers). The singular of the latter term is ‘*Raīs*,’ which later on became corrupted into ‘*Rīs*,’

signifying 'captain of a ship' <sup>1</sup>. معلّم <sup>2</sup> had the same meaning in the 9th and 10th centuries A.H. راز , though rarely used, also conveys the same sense. Its other forms are رائز and رئيز derived from روز which means 'experiment, test and manufacture.' <sup>3</sup>

## WORDS FOR PORTS, COASTS, ETC.

THE oldest Arabic word for port is 'مرءاء' derived from رءا, which means 'to bring (a ship) ashore.' مينا, with its plural موانى, was used later in the same sense. Probably it was derived from 'انا' which means 'tarry.' This word is found in books of 3rd century A.H. (vide *Kitāb-ul-Buldān* by Ya'qūbī' p. 338) and is still current. The word 'اسكله' conveying the same meaning was borrowed from Latin, while 'بندر' came from Persian. خليج and خور signify a 'bay.'

An old word for 'sea-coast' is *Jidd*; hence the name of the famous coastal town of Arabia, Jeddah. شط and شاطى are also used for 'coast.' ساحل is the most common word for it. حيزه and عبر, سيف, ضفه convey the same meanings.

عراق (Irāq) means a meadow situated on the sea-coast. *Khaffājī* has mentioned a word مهران for coast in his book *Shafā-ul-Ghalīl*, written in the 11th century A.H.

## NEW WORDS

WHEN the Arabs progressed in navigation, after the advent of Islam, many new words were coined, e.g., خطف 'to start after weighing anchor'. The word really meant to snatch. Similarly اقلع originally signifying 'to hoist sail' was later used in the sense of 'steering a ship.' عذب means 'sweet water,' hence استعذاب: 'to make provision for sweet water in the ship.' بار is another new word for 'coast.' It has been borrowed perhaps either from Persian or Sanskrit. While describing the coast of Madras, Sulaimān mentions a place Kulah-bār, adding: و الساحل كل يقال بار: ('And all coasts are called bār). Malabar and Kulahbar in southern

1. *Marūj-al-Zahab*, Vol. I, p. 282 (Paris Edition).

2. *Al-Fawā'id Fi 'Ibn-ul-Baḥr Wal Qawā'id* by Ibn Majid Sa'dī, p. 46, Paris.

3. *Lisān-ul-'Arab* and *Shafā-ul-Ghalīl*.

India, Zanzibar in Africa all point to the same meaning. The word is probably an Arabicised form of the Sanskrit word वाङ्, e.g., in Kathiawar and Karwar.

Terms used by the navigators of the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea differed. The mast was called وقْل in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean but صاري in the Mediterranean.<sup>1</sup> Some words took new complexion, as تعبیه which meant in old Arabic 'to make provision'; later on it meant 'to equip an army,' and then 'to provision a ship,' (Sulaimān, p. 15). Similarly بخل meant in old Arabic 'to throw,' but later it was used in the sense of 'to unload the cargo of a ship.'<sup>2</sup> ركب began to be used for 'passengers on ships.' Similarly مركب was used exclusively for 'ship.' خب meant originally 'trot of a horse' but later on came to signify 'a hurricane.'<sup>3</sup>

## FOREIGN WORDS

MANY words were borrowed from foreign languages. Some have been mentioned above, for the sake of illustration we add a few more :

Arabic Words	Meanings	Persian words
دھانچ - دھانی	.. Map of the routes of a ship	.. دھنامہ
سنبک - سنبوق	.. Small boat ..	.. سنبوذه
فرواز	.. Edge of a boat ..	.. پرواز
انجر - لنجر	.. Anchor ..	.. لنگر
<i>Hindi words</i>		
دونچ	.. Small boat ..	.. ڈونگی
بارجہ - بیرجہ	.. Fleet ..	.. بیڑا
ھودی	.. Small boat ..	.. ھوڑی
بلنج	.. Cabin in a ship ..	.. پلنگ (۴)
بانائی	.. Indian merchant, later on, passengers of a ship.	.. بنیا

Ibn Baṭūṭa uses a word of Chinese origin جنک (Junk) to signify 'a big ship.' Similarly there are numerous words of Greek and Latin origin, e.g., نوتی-نول - قیر - طونس - جون - جریبا (a bow; Gr. : stuma) - اوتیانوس etc.

1. *Safar Nāmāh-i-Abul Hasan Sairafi*, Mas'ūdī, Appendix, p. 196.

2. *'Aẓāb'ul Hind*, Ibn Shahrīyār, p. 16.

3. *Ibid.* p. 142 146

## WARSHIPS

THE Arabs followed the Romans in equipping their men-of-war borrowing many of their words to signify various kinds of warships, e.g., اسطول (pl. اساطيل) meaning 'a fleet of warships,' also شلندی and شینی, a 'warship.' Asfi Mecci of Gujrat uses a word برشته to mean 'ship' in his *Zafar-ul-Wālah*, (Vol. I, pp. 36, 41, London) which is a history of Gujrat, India. Many new words also were current for different kinds of men-of-war, e.g., بطسه - حراقه - مسطحات - طراد - عراده .

The place where warships were built was called دارالصناعه in Arabic. The French word 'D'arsena' and the English 'Arsenal' are both derived from the same root.

## ARABIC WORDS IN EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

THE following Arabic and Persian words are still in use in European languages : امير البحر اميرالرحل ('Amiralh,' Portuguese; 'Amiral,' French and 'Admiral,' English), الرئيس ('Arraez,' French), فلك ('Corvette,' French), الحراقه (Anchor), غراب ('Faluga,' Portuguese; and 'Feluca,' Spanish). انجر (Anchor), الحراقه (Al hurrego), الحبل - كبل (Cable).

All these words tell their own tale. They not only furnish us with clues to the study of the history of Arab navigation and naval warfare but give us an idea of their association with foreign countries.

## OLD ARABIC POETRY

THE only source of pre-Islamic Arab history is the pre-Islamic Arab poetry. In it we find frequent references to rivers, the sea and navigators. Naturally such references occur in the poetry of those poets only who knew the sea or the rivers. Tarafa, who flourished twenty or twenty-five years before the advent of Islam, and was connected with Bahrain and Hira in his famous ode which forms one of the *Sab'a Mu'alliqah* (the Seven Hanging Odes) compares his fleet-camel to a big rocking ship. He says :

كان حلاوج المالكيه غدوة      خلايا سفين بالنواصف من دد  
عدولية او من سفين ابن يامن      مجوده الملاح طورا ويهتدي

(The litters of the lady of the Mālik tribe in the morning looked at the time of departure like ships in Nawāṣif, like Roman ships or ships of

Ibn Yāman, whom sailors sometimes misdirect and sometimes keep on the right course).

These verses depict beautifully how sailors drove ships in unfathomed seas, and how they veered sometimes from the straight course and went astray. In the last verse, there is the name of an Arab navigator, Ibn Yāman who had many ships. It is said that he was an inhabitant of Bahrain, who built big ships and whose fame was wide-spread. Ibn Yāman lived in the Days of Ignorance. The name 'Yāman' which is the Arabicised form of the Hebrew 'Yāmīn' suggests that he was probably a Jewish merchant, who owned ships. Ṭarafa also draws a realistic picture of the waves of the sea breaking against a ship :

يَشُقُّ حُبَابُ الْمَاءِ حِزْمَهَا      كَمَا قَسَمَ التَّرْبُ الْمَفَائِلَ بِالْيَدِ

(The breast of the ship breaks the waves in the same way as children, while playing, cut a heap of clay with their hands and divide it into two parts).

He pays a compliment to the long neck of his she-camel :

وَاتْلَعْ نَهَاظُ إِذَا صَعَدَتْ بِهِ      كَسَكَانَ بَوْصَى بِدَجَلَةِ مَصْعَدِ

(When she gets up with the help of her long arched neck it looks like the helm of a ship sailing upward in the Tigris).

The illustrious poet A'sha Maymūn of the Days of Ignorance, who also was associated with the court of Ḥīra, depicts in his verses the grandeur of the stormy sea and the beauty of boats plying in the Euphrates. To give but one illustration of his acquaintance with the sea :

مِثْلَ الْفَرَاتِ إِذَا أَطْلَمَ يَقْذِفُ بِالْبُوصَى      وَبِالْمَاهِرِ

(When like the Euphrates its waves are stirred, it throws off ship and swimmer).

But perhaps the most wonderful verse is of the proud and heroic poet 'Amr bin Khulthūm of the Taghlab tribe of Rabi'ah (Irāq). He writes in zeal and pride :

مَلَأْنَا الْبَرَّ حَتَّى إِذَا ضَاقَ عَلْنَا      وَمَوْجُ الْبَحْرِ تَمْلُوهُ سَفِينَا

(We marshalled the land with forces so that the battle-field grew narrow, and we filled the waves of the sea with boats).

One more Arab poet describes the movement of a boat on sea in the following way :

مَوَاطِرُ فِي سَمَاءِ الْيَمِّ مَقْلَعَةٌ      إِذَا عَلَتْ ظَهَرَ مَوْجٍ شَمَتِ انْخَدَرَتْ

(The ships, with their sails unfurled, rend asunder the sky of the sea, as they climb upon the back of the waves, and come down again).

## THE HOLY QUR'ĀN

THE most reliable material for the history of the Days of Ignorance is the Holy Qur'ān, which has been preserved intact without any alteration or change. We find abundant references to ships and the seas in its verses, which are too copious to be mentioned in this essay. Ships have been mentioned in 28 verses : 23 verses contain the word جوار, نلك has been used in two places ; سفينه occurs once ; then there is جاربه in one verse, and also ذات الواح و دسر meaning 'made of planks and nails.'

In the Holy Qur'ān, the history of boats can be traced to the Deluge of Noah, for he was ordered to make an ark in the following words : "And make the ark before our eyes." (*Hūd* : 4). The material used in the ark may be known from the verse : "And we bore him on that which was made of planks and nails." (*Qamar* : 1). This shows that a boat was built by making holes in planks of wood and joining them with nails, and it was so strong that it withstood the beating of the waves like a rock. "And it moved on with them amid high waves like mountains." (*Hūd* : 4).

The purpose for which ships plied on sea and the kind of work carried on by the Arabs may be learnt from the following : "It is He who hath subjected the sea unto you, that ye might eat fish thereout, and take from thence ornaments for you to wear, and thou seest the ships ploughing the waves thereof, that ye may seek to enrich yourselves of His abundance by commerce, and that ye may give thanks." (*An-Nahl* : 2).

In another place two rivers have been mentioned, one of which has sweet water, and the other brackish but both of which contain fish. One of them yields pearls and corals, and ships sail on it. The rivers meant here are the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates, which have salt and sweet water respectively.

The ships ploughed on with the help of favourable winds ; "Of His signs one is, that He sendeth the winds, bearing welcome tidings of rain, that He may cause you to taste of His mercy ; and that ships may sail at His command, that ye may seek to enrich yourselves with His abundance by commerce, and that ye may give thanks." (*The Romans* : 5).

The above verses indicate clearly that the Arabs navigated (1) to catch fish, (2) to gather pearls and corals, and (3) to carry cargo and merchandise from one country to another for profit.

The journeying of weak and feeble men in unfathomed seas, exposed to the mercy of hostile winds, was a dangerous business. In such circumstances, ships often faced contrary winds, cloud, storm, and the dreadful spectacle of death. In the cloud of disappointment the only silver lining must have been the hope of succour from Omnipotent God.

From internal evidence in the Qur'ān we arrive at the conclusion that the Semitic people as far back as the Patriarch and the Israelites were seafaring nations and the Bible also supports the same conclusion (vide *Israelites* : verse 7 et seq.). The Qur'ān gives most vivid and realistic des-

criptions of the movements of a ship on a billowing ocean, and the utter helplessness of man to face the wrath of Nature, which are absolutely without parallel in Arabic literature. The hearers of the Qur'ān must have been thoroughly acquainted with all these dangers and the whole argument appealed to them as irrefutable testimony of the Divine Mercy. The graphic accounts of the perils which beset ships, the lamentations of passengers, their earnest prayers to God for deliverance and their forgetfulness and ingratitude after landing on the shore were common experience of Arab life.

There are further verses of the Qur'ān which clearly show that the Arabs were quite familiar with the ways and means of taking their ships across stormy seas to far off countries. They knew how to steer their ships clear of a gale or a storm. They knew when a storm was coming and the nearest haven to which they could rush for refuge. They were also familiar with the directions of different winds, and highly skilled in this science. They dwelt in deserts and coastal regions, so they were adepts in signs of storm. According to the Arab sailors there were twelve kinds of winds : جنوب (South Wind), شمال (North Wind), قبول (Westerly Wind), نكبا (Westerly Wind), تيمنا (South Wind), جريبا (North Wind), نكبا (North-east Wind), داجن (South Wind), ازيب (Dark Wind), بادخش (Good Wind), حرجف (North Wind), صاروف (North Wind). The Arabs had different words for winds according to their characteristics and features. Nautical astrology (علم الانواء) and the knowledge of movements of winds (علم مهاب الرياح) were much liked by the Arabs. Voluminous books have been written in Arabic on these and one of the most important of these books is *Kitāb-ul-Anwā* by Abū Ḥanifah Dainūrī (died, 282 A.H.).

In the Holy Qur'ān a picture of sea voyages is drawn thus : "He will . . . send against you a tempestuous wind and drown you" (*The Israelites*) "So that ye be in ships, which sail with a favourable wind, and they rejoice therein, when a violent wind overtakes them and the billows surge in on them from all sides." (*Jonah* : 3).

The Holy Qur'ān, after describing ships ploughing on the seas, says : "The changing of the winds and the clouds made subservient between the heaven and earth are signs for people who understand it." (*Cow* : 20).

Ships ploughed on seas days and nights. By day the sailors knew their destination with the help of mountains, naval routes, and sea-coasts, but at night they knew directions by means of stars. The Arabs were highly skilled in the knowledge of stars, and their verses abound in references to them. They named most of the stars after the names of countries, while سهيل (Canopus), شمري (Canis), زهره (Venus), فرقدین (Guards), ثريا (Pleiades), دبران (Deb-aran) and scores of other stars were commonly used for such purposes. They knew the change of the season with the setting of the Pleiades.



The excellence of the Arabs in the above art may be inferred from the Holy Qur'ān also : " And He hath cast anchor in the earth lest it should move with you, and also rivers and paths that ye might be directed, and He hath likewise ordained marks whereby men may know their way, and they are directed by stars. " (The Bee : 2). " It is He who hath ordained the stars for you, that ye may be directed thereby in the darkness of the land and of the sea. We have clearly shown forth our signs unto people who understand. " (The Cattle : 12).

And when not even a star was visible on the sky in the awful darkness of night, gale and storm, the helplessness of navigators may better be guessed. The dismal picture of such occasions is thus drawn in the Holy Qur'ān : " Or, as the darkness in a deep sea, covered by waves riding on waves, above which are clouds, being additions of darkness one over the other when one stretcheth forth his hand, he is far from seeing it. And unto whomsoever God shall not grant his light, he shall enjoy no light at all. " (The Light : 5). Had the Koreish and the Arabs no personal experiences of such sea-voyages, these similia were likely to fall on listless ears.

## ARAB NAVIGATION IN THE DAYS OF THE HOLY PROPHET

WE now come to the time when the dark cloud of the Days of Ignorance was disappearing and the effulgent sun of Islam was rising on the horizon ; but its rays had not yet permeated the Arabian Society. The old, crude and wild customs persisted still and whatever appears in the period is the corrective of their old usages. We see the Arabs of this period coming and going in their ships from one place to another. Abyssinia situated on the sea, was their second home and they frequented it at will. The Red Sea was navigated by the Romans and a little before the advent of Islam one of their merchant ships was wrecked near Jedda. The Koreish purchased planks of the ship from the Romans and used them in the ceiling of the Ka'ba.<sup>1</sup>

When the storm of persecution broke on the Muslims in Mecca, the Holy Prophet advised them to emigrate to Abyssinia. Accordingly in the fifth year of the Prophet, a group of eleven men and four women left Mecca and found in Jedda two merchant ships ready to sail for Abyssinia. The embassy of the Koreish followed next but returned unsuccessful.<sup>2</sup> The false news of the conversion of the Koreish to Islam was conveyed to Abyssinia and some of the Muslims living there hurried to Mecca, but eighty persons had to retreat at once. When the Prophet emigrated to Medina, some of the Muslims joined him there by coming from Abyssinia. In 6 A.H., the Holy Prophet sent ' Amr, son of Omayya Damrī, with a letter of congratulation to the ruler of Abyssinia. The latter sent in

1. Vide *Sirāt Ibn Hishām*, Description of the Foundation of the Ka'ba.

2. *Tārikh Tabarī*, Vol. III, p. 1182.

return a deputation of sixty persons to the Holy Prophet but unluckily the ship carrying this deputation sank in the way.<sup>1</sup> In 7 A.H. the Koreish emigrants of Abyssinia embarked for Medina, arriving at Jar, which was situated on the Arabian coast of the Red Sea at a distance of 10 stages from Ela (Akba). It takes one day to reach Medina from this place.<sup>2</sup>

About fifty-two Muslim converts of the Ash'ar tribe embarked in a ship sailing from Yemen to Medīna, but the strong wind took them to Abyssinia. The emigrant Muslims from Mecca received them and started with them on a ship in 7 A.H. for Medīna, reaching there at the time when the Muslims were conquering Kheiber. These men were named 'the People of the Ship.'<sup>3</sup>

Islam did not spread beyond the frontiers of Arabia during the Prophet's lifetime, but in two years of Abu Bakr's rule it made considerable headway in Irāq and Syria, and in 'Omar's period it penetrated to Persia and the Persian Gulf on one side, and, after crossing Syria and Palestine, to Egypt and Alexandria on the other. These were the two naval centres of the two greatest nations of the world :—of Chosroes and the Cæsars respectively.

The name of an old port on the Persian Gulf was Oballa, which was a commercial depot of Persia. Ships carried cargo and merchandise from this port to India and China. Alexandria, on the important roadway to Constantinople, Spain, North Africa, and Europe, occupied the same position in the Mediterranean Sea. After reaching these regions the Arab Conquerors grew impatient to sail further, but 'Omar would not let them go ahead. The cause of 'Omar's injunction was not that he feared the perils of sea-voyages, as is inferred from the story that, when he made enquiries about sea-voyages, one of his officers is reported to have described a man (in a ship) as "a small worm standing on a wood." The reason, however, was that the Arabs had no experience of naval battles, while the Romans and the Persians were skilled in it. It was, therefore, that the naval inroad made by the Arabs in a province of Persia, Fārs, through Bahrain, was a failure and they suffered serious loss. 'Alā bin Al-Hadrmī was at that time governor of Bahrain, and he initiated this raid. When 'Omar knew this, he was very angry with him.

Amīr Mu'āwiyah, who was at the time Governor of Egypt and Syria, also wanted to attack the Romans by sea, but 'Omar deprecated the idea warning him to "recall the punishment inflicted on 'Alā for this."<sup>4</sup>

## THE JOINING OF THE RIVER NILE WITH THE RED SEA

BUT the peaceful navigation of the Muslim Arabs began in 'Omar's

1. *Tabarī*, III. p. 1570.

2. *Yaqut*, art., "Jar."

3. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, "Faza'il-ul-Ash'areyin."

4. *Tabarī*, Events of 17 A.H., p. 2546.

was sent to attack Daibal (Thatta), the port of Sind.<sup>1</sup> This shows that the Arab navigators either knew the locality of these cities or they sought help of Iranian sailors and seamen in ascertaining their directions.

It is a mere coincidence that the Arab invasion to India was pioneered by the youths of saqāfī clan and completed by a youth of the same clan, Muḥammad bin Qāsim, who subjugated the whole of Sind in 92 A.H.

SYED SULAIMAN NADVI.

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1. *Futūḥul-Buldān*, 431 ; and *M'ujam-ul-Buldān*, art., ' Bahrain. The date is open to scrutiny.

# THE VICTORIES OF SULTĀN FĪRŪZ SHĀH OF TUGHLUQ DYNASTY

(English Translation of *Futūhāt-i-Firūz Shāhi*)

SULTĀN FĪRŪZ SHĀH, (752-790 A.H., 1351-1388 A.D.), one of the most enlightened rulers among the Sultāns of Delhi is described by Ḍiyāuddīn Barnī in his *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*.

بعد از سلطان معزالدين محمد سام بادشاهي حليم تر مشفق و مهربان و حق شناس و وفادار تر و در اسلام و مسلماني پا نيزه اعتقاد تر از سلطان عهد و زمان فيروز شاه السلطان پائي بر تختگاه دهلي نهاده است -

Sultān Fīrūz was not merely a just and merciful sovereign, but he had a passion for architecture and a taste for letters. He not merely shed lustre on the throne of Delhi by his numerous works of public utility, but his reign was signalised by the production of a copious literature on varied subjects.<sup>1</sup> Works on hagiology, Muḥammadan law, medicine, falconry and history were composed during this period and many of them were dedicated to Sultān Fīrūz. It is well-known that the Sultān's love of learning transcended the barriers of creed. In course of his expedition to Nagarkot, the Sultān's curiosity was excited by the sight of a splendid Library attached to the temple and he ordered the translation of a few works on astronomy and other subjects into Persian.<sup>2</sup> The Sultān himself essayed his hand at literary composition and composed a pamphlet containing *theres gustae* of his reign, or, as he designates them, his 'victories,' and had these engraved on the walls of the *Kushk-i-Shikār*, on the dome of the *Kushk-i-Nazūl* and on the minaret of the stone mansion at Fīrūzābād.<sup>3</sup>

This work, the manuscripts of which are extremely rare, was translated by Prof. Dowson, in the *History of India as told by Its Own Historians*: Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III. Prof. Dowson's MS. apparently found its

1. *Maktūbāt-i-Ahmad Munyari*, *Irshād-u-Sālikīn*, *Khulāṣat-ul-Alfāzi*, *Jāmi'-ul-'Ulūm*, *Manāqib-Makhdūma-i-Jahāntiān*, *Tibb-i-Firūz Shāhi*, *Rāhat-ul-Insān*, *Fiqh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, *Fawā'id-i-Firūz Shāhi*, etc. *Catalogue of Persian MSS. of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. I, 1924.

*Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Persian text, *Bibliotheca Indica* series, p. 233.

3. *Shams Sirāj 'Afīf's Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, *Bibliotheca Indica* series, p. 178, p. 20.

way into the British Museum and was listed by Rieu in the catalogue of Persian MSS. The only copy of this work in India is preserved in the Aligarh University, of which a copy was obtained by Dr. Raghubir Singh, heir-apparent, Sitamau State, Central India. The scholarly prince offered generously the use of his MS. and the present translation is based on this copy. This royal composition,<sup>1</sup> though small, is of great historical importance. It sets forth not merely a sketch of the works of public utility done by the Sultān for the good of his subjects, but recounts the Sultān's manifold exertions in the path of righteousness as he conceived it.

The chief merit of this work, however, lies in the fact that the Sultān recorded here those thoughts and aspirations which stirred the inmost recesses of his heart, and though centuries have rolled away, the Sultān's words still ring in our ears. But the spirit of the royal sentiments is hardly echoed in the translation made in the *History of India* by Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 374-388. Moreover, the above translation contains such material inaccuracies and so many omissions, though unimportant, here and there, that a fresh translation of the royal composition will probably be welcome to students interested in the medieval history of India.

### FUTŪHĀT-I-FIRŪZ SHĀHĪ (THE VICTORIES OF FIRŪZ SHĀH)

INFINITE praise and boundless gratitude be to the merciful and compassionate Creator who offered necessary guidance to this poor, helpless Firūz, son of Rajab, servant of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Tughluq Shāh, to breathe new life into the sublime tradition of the Prophet, to eradicate heresy, to stamp out abuses, to prohibit unlawful acts and to encourage the observance of divine precepts and obligatory religious tenets. Endless benedictions be on the chief of the created beings (the Prophet Muḥammad) who was sent to suppress customs and habits and to eradicate usages and practices, and on his descendants and companions, as by their praiseworthy endeavour, infidel practices were abolished; may the blessings of God be on them all. After expressing his gratitude for the favour and bounties bestowed by the Divine Bestower on this humble servant—for to speak of His gifts is gratitude, and the chief of the sons of Adam was inspired to speak of His bounties in verse :—"The bounty of thy Lord, rehearse and proclaim."<sup>2</sup>

I wished that by rehearsing some of the divine gifts with which He had favoured me, I could express my gratefulness so far as it lay in me so that I might be admitted into the company of His grateful servants.

One of the favours of the Creator, Who provides the necessities of life, (His greatness is exalted and charity universal) was that innovations and

1. For details regarding the genuineness and importance of the work, see the present writer's paper, *Futūhāt-i-Firūz Shāhī*, in the J.R.A.S. B., July 1941.

2. *The Holy Qur'ān*, by Yusuf Ali, Vol. VI, p. 1753.

abuses of religious tenets had become current in the kingdom of Hindustan, and having become habitual and natural with the people, they had deviated from the bright laws of the Prophet. God made (His) strength an ally of His own poor servant, and he deemed it incumbent on himself to prohibit the innovations, eradicate the abuses and uproot the forbidden things, and he made handsome efforts so that by the aid and assistance of God, the false customs and infidel practices were swept away and truth was sifted from falsehood. This was the first step. In previous ages, blood of Muslims was profusely shed and various kinds of torture were practised, such as mutilation of hands, feet, ear and nose, plucking out the eyes, pouring molten lead down the throats of people, hammering the bones of hands and feet to fragments, roasting alive in fire, driving nails into hands, feet and chest, flaying alive, battering with the spiked rod, dividing arteries, sawing a body in halves, and other forms of mutilation.<sup>1</sup> Most Merciful and Compassionate God strengthened the mind of his own slave, hopeful of (His) mercy, in order that he might devote his aspiring might in such a way that a Muslim's blood be not unjustly shed, and that he be not tortured in any way and that nobody be mutilated.

*Verse.*—How shall I express my humble gratitude for this boon that I am bereft of strength for committing tyranny on men? They committed all these acts, in order that the hearts might be awe-stricken and fear might prevail in the minds of people and the affairs of government might be well organised and the following saying was made their motto.

*Verse.*—"If you desire the stability of the kingdom, you should always keep your sword in action."<sup>2</sup>

By the grace of God which rests on this poor self, those cruelties and fears have been supplanted by tenderness, generosity and beneficence. Fear and hope have increased more than ever in the minds of the high and the low, and there is no need for execution, thrashing, cruelties and torture, and it is not easy to attain this good fortune without the mercy and the grace of God.

*Verse.*—Show mercy when your arms are strong,<sup>3</sup>  
as charity is better than anger.

When greatness has been bestowed on you by God,  
the habit of punishing rashly is wrong;

If you do not delay in retaliation,  
you may kill him whom you might set free.

When the body is cut to pieces,  
your command cannot recall it to life.

1. *Strat-i-Firūz Shāhi* also refers to the various kinds of tortures and punishment that were abolished by Firūz, (Sir Jadunath Sarkar's copy of Bankipore MS., pp. 106-124).

2. Professor Dowson's Translation conveys quite the contrary sense.

3. Prof. Dowson has not made a literal translation of this verse but quoted a piece of poetry. *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 376.

Behold ! How much pain has the loving mother  
 endured for her own stripling.  
 Don't say : " I killed a hundred men in battle."  
 Save a life so that they may call you a hero.  
 As you feel disinclined to submit yourself to the lancet  
 so don't hack at another's neck with the sword.  
 Don't strive to shed the blood of men,  
 because life does not return once it passes away.  
 Don't make yourself an ally of villainy by shedding men's blood,  
 after all, you have also blood under your skin.  
 A thousand applauses be given such a pioneer  
 as does not commit deeds of blood in the presence of great  
 Those who do not hasten to shed blood [men.  
 receive honour from the orb of the sky.  
 He shows mercy when the enemy is weak,  
 and spares his life, by a full exercise of his magnanimity.<sup>1</sup>

By the grace of God my mind was firmly set on the idea, that the life of the Muslim and property of believers should remain absolutely secure, and whoever would deviate from the path of religious law (*Shar'*) should receive his deserts in conformity with the injunctions of the *Qur'an*,<sup>2</sup> by the decree of the *Qāzis* (Praise to Allah for His bounties).

Another kindness and favour of the Great and Exalted God towards me is that the recitation of the titles<sup>3</sup> of the by-gone *Sultāns* was expunged from the address of the *Jum'a* (congregational Friday prayer) and the *Ids*,<sup>4</sup> and the names of those kings of Islam as a blessed result of whose bravery and ardent longing the country of the unbelievers was conquered, the standards had become victorious in every country, the idol-temples were pulled down, the mosques and pulpits were filled to capacity with worshippers and were carried to lofty heights, the sacred creed became exalted, the Muslims had become powerful and the rebels had come under tutelage—had fallen into oblivion, We commanded that according to the traditional custom which prevailed, they should rehearse all their titles and qualities in the *Khutba* and should recall them with a view to divine forgiveness.

*Verse*.—If you wish that your name be everlasting,  
 don't keep the names of the great unpublished.

One of the gifts of the Guide to righteousness (may his name be exalted) is that in previous ages they collected unjust, unlawful and

1. These verses are mentioned in *Sirat-i-Firūz Shāhi*, Sarkar MS., *ibid*, p. 125.

2. The translation of *کتاب* into *Quran* may be preferred to Dowson's rendering of the word into *book*.

3. 'Afif also says that the names of previous *Sultāns* were introduced in *Khutba*, *op. cit.* *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 106-107.

4. Dowson translated the words *ایام و عید* into *Sabbaths and feasts*, *op. cit.* Dowson's *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 376.

forbidden taxes for the public treasury, such as a toll on the betel-leaf market,<sup>1</sup> brokers of the market,<sup>2</sup> tax on butchers,<sup>3</sup> tax for superintendence of public enjoyments and festivities, on sale of flowers, tax on irrigation,<sup>4</sup> octroi dues, tax on sale of fish, on the trade of cotton dressing, on soap-making, on rope-selling, on oil and ghee-making, on fried gram, teh-bazari,<sup>5</sup> chungī ghallaḥ,<sup>6</sup> on pension,<sup>7</sup> tax on gambling, on houses, court fee, police tax, censor's fee, house-tax,<sup>8</sup> and pasture-tax. We ordered the court of exchequer to abolish these taxes from the register and declared that whoever amongst the empowered officers should realise these imposts from the people, would be visited with condign punishment.

Verse.—To compose the hearts of friends is better than a store of wealth ;  
To have an empty treasury is better than drawing the people  
to affliction.<sup>9</sup>

The wealth, which was collected in the public treasury consisted of the taxes which are prescribed in the law of the Chosen One (may Allah's mercy and peace be on him) and which the religious books set forth, e.g., land-tax, tithe, <sup>10</sup>*zakāt*, the *jizīa* on the Hindus, heirless property,<sup>11</sup> one-

1. برگ means leaf, and not vegetables, hence tax on betel-leaf market is preferred here to Prof. Hodiwala's suggestion of tax on the vegetable market. (*Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 340).

2. Prof. Dowson has not translated this word, *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 377.

3. Prof. Hodiwala rightly suggests the meaning of جزاری 'Afif says, Persian text, p. 375  
جزاری چه باشد - چون قصابی ماده گاوی ذبح کند در هر سرے دوازده چیتل بدهد

4. Dowson reads the word differently, جریده تنول 'Afif also tells us that Firūz imposed an irrigation tax op. cit. *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 130.

5. This tax was in vogue in Central India, as late as the early 19th century. Capt. Broughtons writes in his "Letters written in the Marhatta Camp, during the year 1809: " "The farmers, who have the entire management of their own Bazars, reimburse themselves by the following imposts and taxes: viz., Tehbazarie; a quarter of an anna levied daily upon each dokan or shop and eight annas every tenth day. This is either collected daily, or every tenth day; or sometimes two rupees are taken at once, at the end of the month. "

6. "A tax collected in kind from every corn-dealer, by a servant of the Kotwal, or superintendent, by dipping his right arm into the corn or meal, and scraping out as much as he can, into a bag held close to receive it. This handful is called choongee; and three and a half choongees are taken daily from every shop; two for the Sirkar (or the farmer, if the Bazar is rented), and the rest for the petty officers of the Bazar. "

7. Prof. Dowson reads the word جبهه ibid., p. 377.

8. کوهی has been wrongly rendered into Ghari by Prof. Hodiwala but the word itself means a chamber or house (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi*, II, p. 252. 'Afif also says that this was the house-tax, op. cit. *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 375).

9. This verse occurs in *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Bibliotheca Indica-Series, p. 240.

10. Dowson translated خراج اراضی عشر into tenth from cultivated land, *History of India*, III, p. 377.

11. The word ترکات is rendered into 'Separatists' by Dowson, *History of India*, III, p. 377.



fifth of the booty and mines ; and they would by no means realise such imposts for the public treasury as were not lawful according to the injunctions of the *Qur'ān*. Previous to this age, owing to the spread of heresy, they used to collect four-fifths of the booty for the exchequer and give away one-fifth to the captors as a matter of custom and convention. The injunction of religion is that they shall collect one-fifth for the treasury and pay four-fifths to the captors and this injunction was totally inverted. As this injunction was not in conformity with the prescription of the law, whoever appropriated this booty committed a forbidden act<sup>1</sup> and every child begotten of such a slave became illegitimate. With a view to its abolition we commanded that they should collect one-fifth for the treasury and pay four-fifths to the captors.<sup>2</sup> Next, the *Shī'a* who are called *Rawāfiḍ*, called upon the people to espouse *Shī'a*ism. Having written pamphlets and books on this faith, they had specialised in teaching and instruction and were used to indulge in public vilification and ugly abuse of the two *Shāikhs* (Abū Bakr and 'Omar). We arrested all of them and their apostasy and seduction of others were proved. We punished the zealots and intimidated the rest by admonition, punishment and cruelties.<sup>3</sup> A sect of *Mulhids*<sup>4</sup> and *Abāhiyas*<sup>5</sup> had gathered together and incited the people to infidelity (*Ilhād* and *Abāhiyāt*) ; they used to meet together at a fixed place at nights by appointment ; people irrespective of matrimonial taboos carried food and wine with them and used to say : " This is the worship of Allah," and making an image they made the people bow down before it. They brought together wives, mothers and sisters at night and whoever amongst them chanced to catch hold of the garment of one woman used to commit adultery with her. We struck off the heads of their *pīrs* (spiritual guides), imprisoned, banished and punished the rest, so that this nuisance was completely stamped out of the fold of Islam.

1. Dowson's translation conveys a sense different from what is warranted by the passage, *ibid*, p. 377.

2. That *Firūz* did not merely give utterance to the principle but acted up to it is supported by *Mungha'āt-i-Māhrū*. Of the enormous booty seized in the Jainagar expedition *Sultān Firūz* distributed 4/5th to the soldiers in accordance with the rule of *Shara'*. (Sitamau copy of the R.A.S.B. MS.).

3. *Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhi* says that the holy books of the *Shī'as* were burnt in the presence of all people. *op. cit.* (Sarkar MS., p. 164).

4. The existence of these sects is vouched for by *Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhi* and by *Ḍiya Barnī* and *Khazāin-ul-Futūh* of *Amir Khusrāu*. From the description of the sect given in *Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhi*, Sarkar MS. p. 147, it appears that many Muslims were converted to a cult similar to that of Tantricism which had degenerated at that time into gross sensuality. A detailed description of this faith is given in the present writer's volume on *Sultān Firūz Shāh* which will shortly be published. Prof. Hodiwala suggests that the followers of this cult represented the *Vāmāchāri* section of the *Saktas* but they are distinct from the *Sahajiyas*. There are certain agreements in practices between the *Tāntriks* and *Sahajiyās* but the spirit of the two doctrines is quite different from each other.

5. 'Alāuddin *Khālji* suppressed the *Ibāhiyats* and *Buddhas*. Eng. trans. (*Khazāin-ul-Futūh*, by M. Habib), p. 12 and *Ḍiya-Barnī*, B.I., 334.

A class of men in the garb of atheism, (*Dahariya*)<sup>1</sup> renunciation and celibacy, used to lead the people astray, make disciples of them, and discourse to them on the perverse faith. These seducers had a leader named Aḥmad Bihārī<sup>2</sup>; he was a resident of the city of Delhi and a body of Bihārīs called him God. They brought up this band of men under arrest and in chains before us. He used to vilify the Prophet and affirm: "What illumination can there be in the Apostolate of the man who had nine wives." "One of his disciples bore witness to his assertion. We punished both of them with imprisonment and commanded others to abjure and recant. We exiled each one of them to different towns. Accordingly the wickedness of this muddy-headed sect was suppressed." Still another of the favours of God was the following: In the city of Delhi a person Rukn, by name, having the title of Maḥdī, declared: "I am the last Maḥdī, I have acquired inspired knowledge, and I have not learnt from anybody and the names of all created beings which no other Apostle except Prophet Adam (may peace be upon him) was aware of, are known to me, and the mysteries of the science of alphabet which are not disclosed to anybody else have been revealed to me." With this pretension he composed books and won over the people to apostasy and irreligion and proclaimed: "I am Ruknuddīn, the apostle of Allah." The religious teachers bore out this point before us, averring: "This has been said and we have heard it from him. When they brought him before us, we enquired about his seducing others. He made a confession of his heresies and errors. The scholars versed in religion declared: "He has turned a *kāfir* (unbeliever) and his execution is legal." This wickedness and ferment originated among the Sunnis owing to his perversity. If its suppression was put off, which God forbid, it would lead to such (widespread) contagion that many Muslims would go astray and abjure Islam and such a ferment would arise that many people would be ruined on account of it. We commanded them to proclaim the wickedness, error and seduction on the part of this villain in the assembly of the scholars of the world who were versed in the Law, and to convey it to the ears of all high and low, and to inflict condign punishment in accordance with the verdict of the

1. The *dahariyas* believe in the permanence of the world and do not believe in the Day of Judgment, (*dayerul ma'rafat*). *Dahariya* is a name applied to those people who, not content with repudiating the belief in one God, the creation of the world by Him and His providence and denying the postulates of any positive religion, teach the eternity of time and of matter and ascribe all that happens in the world merely to the operation of natural laws. As the most characteristic principle of their teaching, on which all the others depend, stress is laid on their doctrine that time is without beginning. One comes nearest the meaning of the *Dahariya* by translating it as *materialists* or *naturalists*; the oldest definition of the meaning of *Dahariya* is to be found in Djahiz's *Kitab-ul-Kayawan* where they are credited with a hedonistic view of life in addition to atheism and naturalism, using the terms in the most general sense (*Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I., p. 378, 1913).

2. Dowson very curiously writes the name as Aḥmad Bahari, *History of India*, p. 378. Religious ferment of this type in which claims were made by persons of being commissioned by God also stirred medieval Europe, *History of The Middle Ages* by Hallam. H. 525-7.

doctors of law and leaders of faith. They executed him along with these persons who were his devotees, disciples and associates, and all people high and low, rushed forward and tore his flesh, skin, and limbs to pieces and his iniquity was put down with such a rigorous hand that it became a warning to the people of the world. God, Exalted and Great, made His divine favour and grace accessible to His own poor servant in eradicating such wickedness, rooting out similar heresies and endowing him with strength in reviving the traditions (of the Prophet). This narration aims at expressing gratitude to God. Whoever seeks the welfare of his own faith, on hearing and pursuing the forbidden words, should travel along this path, in order that he may be rewarded.<sup>1</sup> By holding out these good deeds, as an example, we remain hopeful of reward. "Allah is the giver of strength." Still another favour of God was this: One of the sons of 'Ain-i-Māhrū's teachers<sup>2</sup> set himself up as a spiritual guide in the province of Gujrat. He recruited a large number of disciples and used to proclaim: "I am God," and tutored his disciples saying: "When I say I am God, you must respond. "Thou art, thou art," they said and he used to say: "I am the king who is immortal" and wrote a book which recorded his sayings. They brought him before me in chains and this charge was brought against him. We punished him and burnt the book which he had composed, so that this unrest among the monotheistic Muslims was also put down. Another favour of God, was this: The customs and practices which are not permissible in Islam had become natural in the cities of Muslims owing to ignorance. Bevis of women, mounted on palanquins, carts, litters, horses and camels, and flocks of pedestrians used to come out of the city on holy occasions and repaired to the tombs. Rakes and ruffians, given to sensuality and averse to piety, committed wild and rowdy deeds which was common knowledge. By religious law women are forbidden to go out. We strictly forbade the women to visit the shrines, and whoever were to go, would be punished. Now, by the grace of God, Exalted and Great, the veiled Muslim women living in *purdah* have not the courage to go out and visit the shrines. This innovation too was suppressed.

Another favour of God is apparent from what follows: The stupid idol-worshipping Hindus, who have submitted to the levy of *jizya* by way of security, and whose property has been safeguarded,<sup>3</sup> have built new temples in the city (Delhi) and its neighbourhood. In the religious dispensation of the Prophet, the construction of new temples is not legitimate. Inspired by divine strength, we destroyed their wicked foundations,

1. Dowson confuses the meaning of this sentence, *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 379.

2. Dowson translates از ملازادگان عین ماهر و into one of the pupils of 'Ain-i-Māhrū, *History of India*; p. 379. (It seems likely that here religious teachers of a place named 'Ain māhrū are meant.—Ed., I.C.)

3. Prof. Dowson thus translates this sentence "had agreed to pay the money for toleration, and had consented to the poll-tax." He apparently made a distinction between *Jar-i-dhimmi* and *jizya* whose significance cannot be understood, *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 380.

executed the leaders of the false faith who were leading others astray, and warned the rank and file by punishment, so that this abomination completely subsided.

Still another favour was the following : In the village of Maluh<sup>1</sup> where there was a tank known as *kund*, temples were built. A large number of Hindus with their retinue, riding together and equipped with arms and armour and accompanied by their wives and children, borne in palanquins and carriages, assembled in thousands according to their custom on an appointed day and performed idol-worship. This wickedness was carried to such a length that shop-keepers used to carry there various kinds of gew-gaws and palmed them off by craft. A band of irreligious Muslims, prompted by evil passions, participated in these gatherings. When this state of affairs reached our ears, by divine grace we made a firm resolve to suppress this wickedness which was corroding the religion of Islam. We went there on the day they had assembled and ordered the execution of those persons who had been their *pīrs* (spiritual guides) and who seduced and misguided them, and we restrained the rest of the Hindus by excruciating punishment.<sup>2</sup> We destroyed the idol-temple and erected a mosque in its place ; we colonized the localities and gave one the name of Tughluqpur and the other that of Ṣadlapur, and now by the grace of Great and Exalted God, Muslims offer prayers to true God, perform *Takbīr* (recitation of *Allāhu Akbar*), *Azān* (call to prayer) and congregational prayer, and recite the creed *There is no God but God* in those places where the stupid unbelievers had built idol-temples ; and in those places where the unbelievers had built their dwellings, the Muslims have taken up their abode and keep their tongue moist by reciting the creed<sup>3</sup> *There is no God but God*. Thanks to Allah for the religion of Islam.

Still another favour of God was this : It was reported that in the village of Sālihpur, a number of Hindus had built a new idol-temple and performed idol-worship. There also we sent a few men to destroy the temple and stamped out the wickedness of these persons who persisted in error.

Still another favour of God was this: In the village of Gohana<sup>4</sup> some Hindus had raised a new temple. A number of polytheists used to assemble

1. Prof. Hodiwala is inclined to identify Maluh with Malja or Malcha in the vicinity of Delhi where Sultān Firūz constructed a *band*. But as Maluh and Malcha are written quite different by, the identification does not appear to be convincing (*Studies in Indo-Muslim History* by Prof. S. H. Hodiwala, 1939. p. 343). There was a place of this name in Lucknow Sarkar during the reign of Akbar ; which is mentioned to have been prosperous *mahal* at that time, (Eng. trans. of *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* by Gladwin, p. 490).

2. Sultān Firūz's repressive policy against the *dhimmīs* is also supported by 'Afif, e.g., the burning of the Brahmins and *jizya* imposed on them (*op. cit.* *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, pp. 379-384). Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad also says that the Sultān erected mosques in the place of temples (*Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 240).

3. Dowson has abridged the translation of the concluding sentences of this para., *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 381.

4. Gohana was a prosperous *mahal* in Sarkar Hissar Firūza, as attested by Jama' (*op. cit.* Eng. trans. of *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, p. 533). It is fifty miles north west of Delhi and 20 miles north of Rohtak. According to Hissar Dt. Gazetteer, the temples of Tirthankar Paresnath which exist here form the chief attraction of the devout Hindus at present.

and perform image-worship. Having seized these persons, they brought them before us. We ordered a public proclamation about the seduction of people by those who were the mainspring of wickedness among them, and also their execution before the royal palace, and we ordered the burning in the place of public punishment of books of false faith, idols and articles of image worship which they had brought with them in the presence of the public. Others were forbidden by admonition and punishment, which served as a warning to the rest, and no *dhimmī* could show such audacity in the kingdom of Islam.

Still another favour of God was this. It had been the established practice in previous age to use gold and silver vessels at the time of taking meals and mount the hilt of the sword and bow string<sup>1</sup> with gold. We mounted our weapons with the bones of the hunted animals and accustomed ourselves to the use of vessels which were permitted by religious injunctions.<sup>2</sup> Again it had been the custom and practice in by-gone days, that they painted figures on their garments, and robed the people in them as a mark of honour by the royal court. Similarly they used to carve figures on bridles, saddles, collars of their mounts, censers of aloë-wood, drinking-pots, cups, jugs, bowls, parasols, tents, screens, thrones, chairs and all other instruments and articles and had paintings in their possession. By divine guidance and heavenly favour, we directed that they should remove all figures and paintings from all articles and make those things which are not forbidden but sanctioned and approved by the religious Law; we commanded that they should obliterate all carved and engraved figures chiselled out on the houses, walls and palaces.<sup>3</sup> Again, in previous ages, most of the robes of the nobility were unlawfully garnished with silk<sup>4</sup> and gold brocade. God gave me guidance so that I could make the general dress conform to such patterns as were permissible by the religious Law, and embroidered designs, caps and brocades whose trimmings did not exceed the breadth of four figures<sup>5</sup> were approved by us; whatever was unlawful, unpermis-

1. Dowson translates *تغ و چله ترکش* into sword belt and quiver, *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 382.

2. That the Sultān cast aside the gold and silver vessels from the royal table is also supported by 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 374.

3. 'Afif says that the Sultān removed all the paintings of men and animals which formerly adorned the royal private apartment. He commanded that only scenes of gardens and of natural sights should be painted. Figures made of bronze, copper, gold and silver were also effaced, and gold and silver plates and cups were exchanged for stone and clay dishes and vases. The figures which were depicted on standards and pennons were similarly obliterated. (*Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 374).

4. Dowson's translation does not convey the real meaning, *History of India*, p. 382.

5. Dowson translated *اصاب* as inches, *ibid.*, p. 383. This decree was in consonance with the Law enjoined by Islam, *Mishkāt-ul-Maṣābiḥ*, vide, chapter on *Kitāb-ul-Libās*. Maulana Fazlul Karim thus translates the saying of the Prophet on this point. 'Omar reported, that the Holy Prophet forbade the wearing of silk dress except like this, and the Messenger of Allah raised his middle and ring fingers and joined them. 'Omar said "The Messenger forbade the wearing of silk except for a space of two or three or four fingers." Engl. translation of Al-Ḥadīth by Faḍlul Karim, p. 633.

sible, blameworthy and prohibited by the religious Law was swept away "Thanks for the religion of Islam."

One of the gifts of God bestowed on the poor servant is that He gave us power for strengthening the foundations of beneficent institutions. We laid the foundation of many mosques, madrasas, and hospices in order that scholars, religious teachers, recluses and devotees might offer prayers to God in those places and assist the founder of these good works by their benedictions. The digging of tanks, planting of trees and endowment of land in accordance with the prescriptions of religious Law are admitted and approved on all hands, and in Islam the doctors of Law are unanimous on this point; they provided for stipends and settled the proportion of the grants to the beneficiaries so that their benefit might reach the servants of God<sup>1</sup> and a description was given in detail in the *waqfnāma* (deed of endowment).<sup>2</sup>

Another gift of God was this: We embellished by repair and rebuilding the edifices and structures of the previous kings and by-gone noblemen, which had decayed owing to the passage of time and gave the renovation of those structures precedence over our own buildings, e.g., the Jām'i mosque of old Delhi built by Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Sām, which required repair and innovation on account of its antiquity; it was restored in such a way that it appeared to be built anew. The tomb of Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Sām, its western wall and the planks of the door, which had become old and mildewed, were rebuilt. The wooden doors, shelves and staircases were replaced by sandalwood, and the minaret of Sultān Mu'izzuddīn, which had crumbled down after a stroke of lightning, was repaired by being made more elegant and loftier than before. The tank of Altamash, whose channel was choked in its upper course by impious men, was cut off from its supply of water. We threatened the shameless, audacious persons with punishment and set the water flowing freely along the channel. The tank of 'Alāuddīn had burst its confines and been drained of water<sup>3</sup> the people of the town had tilled it and dug wells on its site and sold water from them. We excavated it after an age, as a result of which the tank remained filled with deep water throughout the year. Similar was the case of the madrasa of Sultān Shamsuddīn Altamash. Having

1. Dowson's translation "The learned doctors of the law of Islam have many trouble; of this there is no doubt does not convey the real sense of this para. The translation made here is supported by 'Afif's narration." The revenue of the reclaimed lands was assigned for the maintenance of the ulema and *mashāikh* and fixed allotments of this revenue were made (*Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 130). *Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhī* also makes a similar statement. (Sarkar MS., 291). 'Afif further says that the Sultān earmarked 36 lacs of rupees for the ulema and *mashāikh* (*Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 169).

2. *Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhī* throws light on the "waqfnama" made by Firūz. All kinds of grants and endowments made for multiple purposes, e.g., maintenance of the holymen, religious teachers, servants attached to mosques and madrasas were recorded in it and Firūz sent this long and elaborate document to Egypt, which after being approved by Caliph, was carried back to Delhi (Sarkar MS., pp. 291-292).

3. Dowson's trans. does not express the correct meaning of the sentence, *History of India* Vol. III, p. 383.

rebuilt the places which had become dilapidated, we hinged doors of sandalwood and raised the fallen pillars in a more elegant way than that of previous times. The basement of the tomb, which had not been plastered at the time of original construction, now received its coating of plaster<sup>1</sup>; the door of the arched gateway of the staircase was enlarged by hewn-stone and the fallen piers of the four towers were rebuilt. The tomb of Sultān Mu'izzuddīn, son of Sultān Shamsuddīn, which was at Malikpur, had fallen into dilapidation to such an extent that it almost ceased to exist. Here a dome, a pavilion and a hospice were rebuilt. The tomb of Sultān Ruknuddīn, son of Sultān Shamsuddīn, which was at Malikpur, had fallen into such a state of dilapidation that it had almost disappeared. The tomb of Sultān 'Alāuddīn Gharbī—the mosque which is inside the madrasa, was renovated from the foundation to the pedestal.<sup>2</sup> The sepulchre of Sultān Qutbuddīn and of the sons of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, namely Khizr Khān, Muḥammad Khān, Shādī Khān, Farīd Khan, Sultān Shihabuddīn, Sikandar Khān, Uthman, and Qutbuddīn's sons and grandsons, was renovated. The doors of the arched gateway and the lattice-work of the tomb of Shāikh-ul-Islam, Shāikh Nizāmuddīn, were made of sandalwood, and the golden chandeliers were hung with gold chains from the four corners of the recesses of the dome, and a new congregational hall was built such as did not exist here before. The tomb of Malik Tāj-ul-Mulk Kāfūrī, who was the chief minister of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, and possessed much intelligence and sagacity, had conquered many kingdoms which the hoofs of the horses of the previous kings had not traversed, and where the Khutba of Sultān 'Alāuddīn was proclaimed, who maintained a cavalry forty-two thousand strong, was levelled to the ground and the grave sunk to the earth. The tomb was repaired from its base, as he was a staunch upholder of his master's interest and a grateful person. In *Dārul amān*, which was the place for the final rest of our revered master,<sup>3</sup> the doors were made of sandalwood, and over the tomb of the honourable master, a canopy was hung, made out of the screens of the door of the House of Ka'ba,<sup>4</sup> and the materials for repairs and rebuilding of these tombs and madrasas were provided out of their old endowments. For places not previously endowed and also to furnish these places with carpets, articles of illumination and other furniture suitable for pilgrims, villages were assigned so that their proceeds might be expended on these

1. Dowson's translation is here very curious. "its court had not been made curved but I made it so."

The word is كج and not كج *ibid.* p. 383.

2. Prof. Dowson's translation: "I made good the tessellated pavement" does not yield any sense (*ibid.* III, p. 384).

3. Dowson has abridged the passage and translated "Makhdūmān" into "great men." This para. along with the next following one makes it abundantly clear that Sultān Firūz referred to Sultān Ghiyāthuddīn Tughluq and Muḥammad bin Tughluq by this expression.

4. Dowson's translation leaves out these important words, *History of India*, p. 385.

places.<sup>1</sup> Similar was the case of Jahapanah, which was founded by Sultān Muḥammad Shāh, now received into divine forgiveness and favour, he was our lord and benefactor—especially I was reared and cherished by him.<sup>2</sup> It was kept in good repair. Similarly, the encompassing walls, built by the previous Sultāns within the bounds of the city of Delhi, were repaired. In the madrasa, tombs and graves of Sultāns famed for achievements and of great religious teachers, we preserved intact furniture necessary for travellers in those sacred places and villages with their lands and their old endowments. Besides, I assigned grants for those places where no kind of endowment or anything else was provided,<sup>3</sup> in order that the good works might endure for ever in those places and wayfarers, scholars and learned men might live in ease and call them and us to memory in their beneficent prayers.

Another favour of God was this: He made it possible for us to build hospitals; so that whoever, whether high or low, was stricken with disease or pain, might come to this place. The physicians are on attendance to diagnose the disease, prescribe treatment and diet, and supply medicine and food from allotted endowments. All patients, whether resident or travellers, high or low, free or bond, who visited this place, were treated and by God's grace restored to health.<sup>4</sup>

Another favour of God was this: From God who is almighty and full of perfection, this sinful servant derived strength, so that he, on behalf of the Sultān received into divine forgiveness and compassion, won over with riches<sup>5</sup> the heirs of those persons who were executed as well as other persons whose limbs such as eyes, hands, nose and feet were mutilated during the time of His Majesty Sultān Muḥammad Shāh received into

1. 'Afif says that Sultān Firūz assigned thirty-three lacs of rupees for scholars, religious teachers and holy men.

2. The very grateful and affectionate sentiments expressed here by Sultān Firūz towards his patron Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq tend to impair seriously the authenticity of Badā'ūnī's story regarding the rebellion of Firūz in concert with Shaikh Naṣiruddīn Maḥmūd against Muḥammad bin Tughluq (*Muntakhab-ut-tawārikh*, pers. text, Bibliotheca Indica Series, p. 248). It may be mentioned here that Firūz entertained very loving sentiments towards Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq. In the course of Firūz's expedition to Nagarkōt in 1362 A.D. he recalled the incident when his cousin, though overcome with thirst, rejected cold drink on account of his absence. On arrival at that hallowed spot Firūz caused cold drink to be prepared in profuse quantity and distributed it amongst the soldiers as a token of the hallowed memory of his cousin (*Sirat-i-Firūz Shāhī*, Sarkar MS. p. 79, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 233, (*Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, p. 248).

3. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (p. 239) says that the Sultān wrote one chapter on the endowments of mosques and detailed directions for its expenditure. Again it says that Firūz kept in force the endowments made for mosques, hospices, madrasas, etc., *ibid.* p. 241. B. De's translation of *اوراق مقرر ساختم* into "made endowments" does not convey the exact sense (Eng. translation of *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* by B. De, p. 260).

4. *Sirat-i-Firūz Shāhī* and 'Afif attest this account of the establishment of hospital by Sultān Firūz, *Afif, Tārikh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, pp. 349-360, *Sirat*, pp. 244-248.

5. Dowson has confused the meaning of the passage here, (*History of India*, III, p. 385).



divine forgiveness and favour, who was my lord, revered master and cherisher (may his place of eternal rest be joyful).

Having secured the deeds of gratifications attested by witnesses and put them in a chest, we placed it at the head of the tomb of the Sultān (received into divine forgiveness and favour) in *Dār-ul-amān*, "may God illumine his resting place." So that by His universal kindness He might immerse our revered master and cherisher in mercy and make them reconciled to our master by His own treasures.<sup>1</sup>

One of the favours of God is that villages and lands held in proprietary right were confiscated in previous ages for various reasons and had passed from the authority and possession of the private person into the control of the exchequer. We declared that all who possessed proofs of ownership should bring them to the *Dīwān-i-shāra'*, and on verification, the villages and lands which had been confiscated and over and above, whatever constituted his property, would be restored to him. Thanks to Allah, through His help we succeeded in this endeavour and the property passed into the hands of the rightful owners.<sup>2</sup>

We derived inspiration for encouraging the *dhimmīs* in pursuing the true religion and proclaimed publicly that whoever amongst the unbelievers would recite the creed of monotheism and embrace Islam, would be exempted from the *jizya* in consonance with prescriptions of the religion of the Chosen One, Muḥammad, (may peace be upon him). The words of this (proclamation) reached the ears of all; Hindus poured in throngs, and were honoured by the glory of the adoption of Islam. Similarly they are still trooping in from various directions and are embracing Islam; their *jizya* is being repealed and they are being distinguished by various rewards and honour.<sup>3</sup> Praise to the Sustainer of the universe.

One of the gifts of God is that the wealth and property of the servants of God remain safeguarded in tranquil security during our reign and we did not consider it lawful to take away even the least particle from them. Many mischievous persons made false reports that such and such a person possesses so many lacs and such and such an officer so many lacs. We cramped the tongues of these tale-bearers by reproofs and punishment so that people were freed from the wickedness of this tribe of men.<sup>4</sup> Certainly

1. Firūz's reparation to the heirs of those executed by Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq is supported by *Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhī* (Sarkar MS., pp. 155-156 and *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Pers. text, p. 240). This passage is of great historical importance as it shows that the late Sultān's coffin which was buried at Sehwan (*Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore Feb. 1935 and *Proceedings of Ninth All-India Oriental Conference*, pp. 273-279) was again transferred to Delhi and finally interred in *Dar-ul-amān*.

2. The restoration of confiscated lands is also attested by (*Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhī*, Sarkar MS., p. 148).

3. *Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhī* also states that the Sultān granted remission of *Jizya* to those who embraced Islam (Sarkar MS., p. 170).

4. Sultān Ghiyathuddin Tughluq also adopted measures against the tax-collectors and farmers of revenue ساعیان و موخران و مقاطعہ گران (*Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* by Ḍiya Barnī, Bibliotheca Indica Series, p. 429).

on account of this favour, all became sincerely attached and well disposed towards us.

*Verse*.—Seek good name, as the treasure of munificence is a hundred times better than the treasury of wealth.

One blessing is better than a hundred ass-loads of riches.

By the favour of God humility to the mendicants<sup>1</sup> and the indigent, and winning their hearts, obtained a firm hold on our minds. Accordingly wherever we found mendicants and recluses, we went to visit them and craved their blessing so that we might acquire the excellence implied in the expression, "How noble is the king at the door of the mendicant." If any one amongst the officers attained to the natural fullness of age, we gave him permission and advice so that he might devote himself to the acquisition of the riches of the other world and abjure the actions disapproved by the religious Law which had been committed by him in youth, become averse to the world and turn his face towards the affairs of the other world. *Tetrastich*: When you are grown old, you cannot perform youthful deeds. During old age you cannot commit villainy in secrecy; whatever you have done in the darkness of night, you have done, you cannot do it in the light of day. Next, agreeably to this distich, it is the principle and rule of the great that they favour a good man<sup>2</sup> and if the life of this man comes to an end, he favours his sons. When any of the officers of rank and position, whoever he might be passed away from this world of enchantment to the abode of bliss by the decrees of Providence, we bestowed his post and rank on his descendants in such a way that they might remain<sup>3</sup> better off than their father in position, affluence and dignity, and might suffer no diminution in status.

*Distich*.—It is the principle and rule of kings to honour the wise and after their age, they keep engagements with the sons of the wise. The greatest and best wealth which the Giver of a kingdom, Whose greatness is sublime and charity universal, has bestowed on this servant, is that God inspired me to render obedience, faithfulness and goodwill, and to fulfil the command of His Majesty, the refuge of the caliphate, descendant of the uncle of the Prophet (peace be on him). The purity of administration is not regularized until one honours himself by submission to His Majesty and obtains a writ of approval from His sacred court.<sup>4</sup> Hence the faith

1. اقراوا مساكين do not mean here "poor and needy" as translated by Dowson. *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi* makes it convincingly clear, by stating that the Sultan honoured the dwellings of the pious der-vishes, by his footsteps. Thus he visited the dwellings of Shaikh 'Abdul Haq, the Bengali, Shaikh Chirm-posh of Bihar, Shaikh Sharfuddin Panipathi and others (Sarkar MS., Sitt. pp. 174-184).

2. This verse occurs also in *Sirat*, p. 153.

3. Firuz's concern for the heirs of the faithful officials and his liberality towards them is supported by *Sirat*, pp. 152-155, and *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, pp. 96-97.

4. The fact of exchange of gift between Sultan Firuz and the Caliphs of Egypt is supported by the evidence of all the contemporary writers, e.g., (*Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* by Diya Barni, pp. 598-599), ('Aft' *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, pp. 273-275) *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi*, pp. 288-292 gives details about the visit of the Caliph's envoys to Delhi.

of this person in allegiance to the Khalif became confirmed and a mandate conveying plenary authority and the viceregency of the Khalif was issued from His Majesty's sacred Court of the Caliphate. He was honoured in the mandate with title of Sayyid-us-Salāṭīn and owing to a flow of presents and gift of robes, the court of the Caliph including scarf, standard, ring, sword and footprint, glory and supremacy over the people of the world. The essence of this (autobiography) lies in the fact that by rehearsing the favours which have been bestowed a thousandth part, only a little out of the abundance of gratitude may be expressed. Those who are seekers after well-being and felicity should read it and learn that this is the best course. Humanity does not want that it should fail in pursuing this course. People are rewarded for their good deeds, and we shall earn merit by pointing the way to good works<sup>1</sup>. *Futūhāt-i-Firūz Shāhī* is completed.<sup>2</sup>

N. B. Roy.

1. Dowson has abridged the translation of this passage.

2. My thanks are due to Dr. Bains Prasad, the translator of *Qānūn-i-Humāyūnī* for his valuable suggestions in rendering this text into English.

## PIETRA-DURA DECORATION OF THE TAJ

**A**N important feature of the magnificent Taj is that it is embellished with many varieties of decoration simply with a view to relieve the monotony of the omni-present white marble. Especially one of them, in inlay on white marble, by its variegated precious stones dominates the rest both in quantity and quality. Even a casual observer of the Taj notices it on the spandrels of the facades of entrance, the facades of the actual mausoleum, the sarcophagi, the enclosure, etc. The same decoration in inlay is found in India on many Muslim monuments much earlier than those of the Mughals, although not of such a fine type as that of the Mughals. This particular form of decoration of the Taj has caused a good deal of controversy as to its being of Italian origin.<sup>1</sup> We wish to discuss hereby tracing its real history as a part of the Muslim fine Arts.

It is alleged by the experts that the inlay is supposed to have originated in the East and taken by the Phœnicians to Greece and thence to Rome. Phœnicia and Greece were provinces of the Byzantine empire. But the fact is that the term *pietra-dura* applied to this form of inlaid decoration originated at Florence only during the sixteenth century and then began to be used in the sense it now signifies. It was something of a revival of the ancient Roman *opus sectile* and first appeared, according to Major Cole, in the Fabbrica Ducale built by Ferdinand I, Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1558 A.D.<sup>2</sup>

Previous to the Italians, the Persians used the term *Parchin Kārī*<sup>3</sup> for this form of *pietra-dura* decoration while the Arabian writers used the word *Al-Fusai Fasa*<sup>4</sup> for glass mosaics generally found in Palestine of the Byzantine origin, which is different from *pietra-dura*, as far as technique is concerned. It is a pity that writers sometimes fail to distinguish between

1. Father Hoston did his best to prove the *pietra-dura* of the Taj to be of Italian origin in a long article published in the *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Vol. III, 1922.

2. Cole, H. H., *Illustrations of Buildings near Muttra and Delhi*, London, 1872.

3. Nāṣir Khusrau says:—

کرد دل خود ز دوستی شان      بر دیو حصار ساز و پرچین

Khān Ārzū says:—

جزاین جوهر نمدارند قابل      پرچین کاری بیت اله دل

4. *Lisān-ul-'Arab* and Lane's *Arabic Dictionary* under فسفساء - فسفس. Muqaddasi's *Geography*, p. 58. Le Strange's *Palestine under the Muslim*, pp. 228-230, 241, 268; *the Legacy of Islam*, p. 161.

the two. Nāṣir Khusrau (d. 1088 A.D.) a well-known Persian writer, traveller and philosopher, used the word *Parchin* in his poetry, and in the real sense of *Parchin Kārī*. Khān Ārzū also brings it into his poetry, but we should content ourselves with the contemporary histories of the Mughal Emperors who decorated their masterpieces of architecture with this very *pietra-dura* describing it by the same term *Parchin Kārī*.

The Byzantine monuments of Asia Minor were decorated with inlay in marble much before the foundation of St. Sophia at Constantinople in the 6th century of the Christian era. Later on, the Seljuq Turks occupied Asia Minor in the 11th century. Their capital was then Qunia where they erected new monuments, including mosques, madrasas and palaces after their own special styles. Those monuments were duly decorated with their special devices of geometric patterns, floral motifs and arabesques in stucco, in relief, in inlay, etc. In particular, the prayer niche of the Laranda mosque at Qunia built in 1225 A.D. invites our careful observation to study the varieties of decoration which it bears in inlay, both in terra-cotta and marble. Similar terra-cotta inlay as a technique of the Seljuqs of the days of Malik Shāh is traceable in the Small Dome Chamber of the Masjid of Isfahan.<sup>1</sup>

If we trace the existence of coloured mural decoration among the Musalmans, we shall be able to find very early specimens of faience revetments and faience mosaics in Persian buildings. Ibn Rustah, writing about 903 (290 A.H.) discusses the great mosque of Baghdad and others which were wholly ornamented with lapis lazuli tiles, and Ya'qūbī in the tenth century speaks of the Masjid at Bukhara as celebrated for its green minaret.<sup>2</sup> In short, the Musalmans had begun early to decorate their monuments after their particular designs and devices which later became their standard styles. When the Byzantine empire ceased to exist, the Art and Literature of the Musalmans became the source of inspiration to Europe. In the case of the colour decoration of the architecture of Italy, Mr. James Ward says : " In all flat ornament used in the decoration of buildings of the 13th and 14th centuries in Italy, either in painting, mosaics, or inlaid work, Byzantine, Saracenic or Persian influence may be noticed." And further he says : " We may clearly see the development of Giotto's Italian Gothic ornament, still mixed with some of the older Romanesque forms that Tarrati loved to use, while Saracenic influences are not absent."<sup>3</sup>

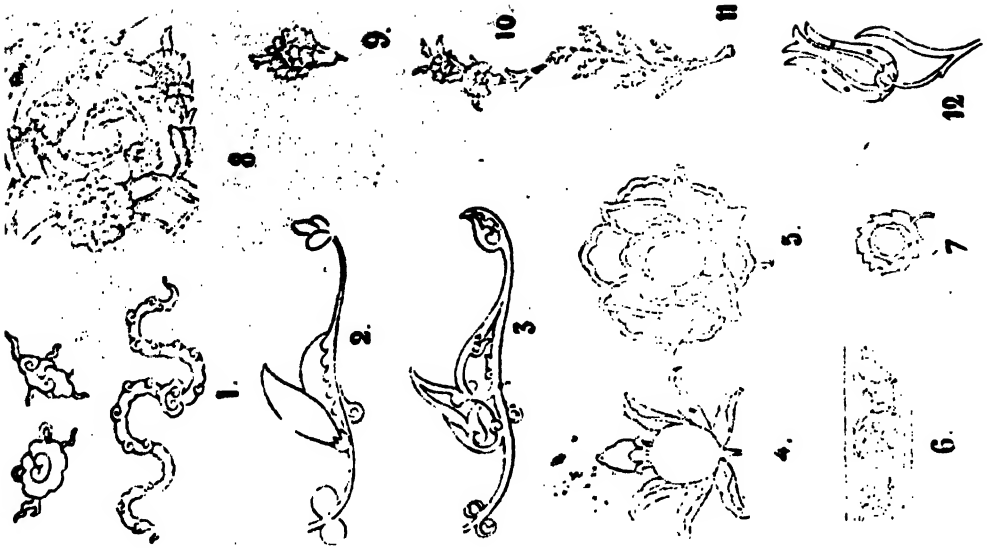
Especially as to the decorative patterns or motifs of Muslim monuments whether in India or abroad, we shall see that they generally have one and the same origin. Therefore it encourages us to conclude that the Musalmans in India began to decorate their monuments by applying the same patterns whether in faience or in mural or on stone in relief

1. A.U. Pope, *The Survey of Persian Art*, pp. 1290-1.

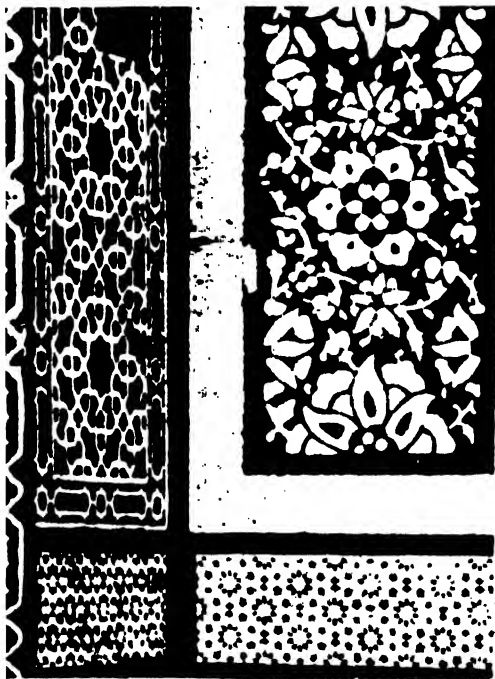
2. *Ibid*, 1323.

3. Wards, J. A., *The Italian Colour Decoration*, London, 1908, pp. 60, 65, etc.

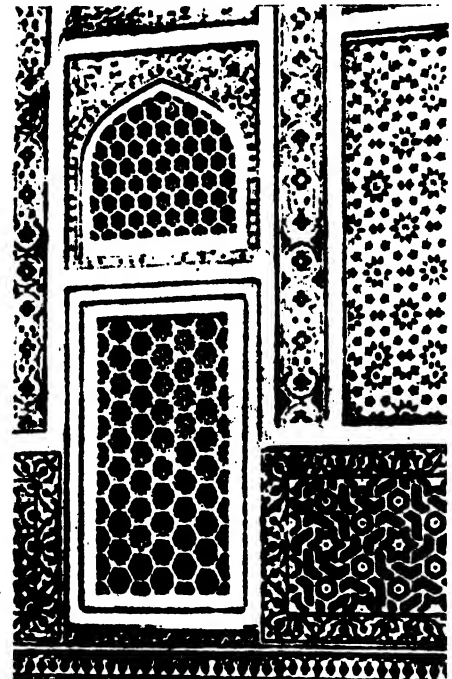




12 showing the Lotus Palmette, Fantastic Foliage, etc., reproduced from M. Jalāl Asad *Turkish Art (Turk San'atı)*, Istanbul, 1928, Pl. 30. These details actually belong to different monuments in Central Asia and Asia Minor.



13. A Detail of Pietra-Dura from the Gate of Akbar's Tomb, Agra, with white



14. A Detail of Pietra-Dura from the Facade of I'timād-ud-Dowla, Agra







or in inlay (*pietra-dura*). The Lotus palmette, the pomegranate, the profile Lotus blossoms, fantastic foliage, Acanthus-half and split and other Arabesques, will invariably be found in conventional forms which are a chief characteristic of Muslim decoration. (See Figs. : 1-12). Owing to such a close resemblance in the decoration of Mughal buildings with those abroad, one sometimes begins to feel that one is not in India but rather in some other country. For this particular feature of Muslim decoration the study of the *Survey of Persian Art* by Mr. A. U. Pope, a standard voluminous work will be of great help.<sup>1</sup> Apart from the expressions of these motifs in actual decoration we occasionally find reference to them in prose and poetry in descriptions of monuments. When 'Abdur Raḥīm Khān Khānān built his superb palaces and gardens in different places, his companion poets and literary men described them in their own way, which exemplifies the use of *Shamsa Mudawwar* (circular sun or lotus flower) specially on the spandrels of the arches, with other decorative motifs in wreaths, etc.<sup>2</sup>

Though unsurpassable specimens of hewn stone-carving of the ancients existed, no specimen of *pietra-dura* or inlay in stone was found till the Musalmans occupied India and began to enrich the land with their special devices both in art and literature. Gujarat stands out in prominence as it was there that the Muslims first came by sea, even before the conquest of Sindh; and even by land they conquered Gujarat before establishing themselves at Delhi. It is historical fact that the earliest Muslim inscription is found in Ahmadabad although monuments of such early days do not exist. Gujarat excelled the whole of India in respect of stone-carving, from the very early days; but it is also a fact that no sign of decoration in inlay is found here before the arrival of the Musalmans. The Jāmi' Masjid at Ahmadabad, built in 817 A.H./1414 A.D. is worthy of study,<sup>3</sup> being one of the earliest mosques built by the Gujarat Muslim kings. Its central miḥrab bears the *Shamsa*, the presentation of an open sunflower in marble in overlay, with leaves and parts represented in variegated inlaid stones coloured yellow, black, pink, etc. Another *Shamsa* having the same variegated leaves, is also found in the central miḥrab of the Juma' Masjid of the Manak Chawk built in 827 A.H./1425 A.D. (PII). Not very far from Gujarat, in Malwa at Maudu-*Shadiabad*, the mausoleum of Hoshang Shāh built in 1435 A.D. also bears a variety of *pietra-dura* or inlay.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, sometimes Islamic inscriptions are found inscribed in inlay either on red stone or black marble in white marble which, if we are not mistaken, was also first introduced into Gujarat, the best specimen is found in the Juma' Masjid of Muhammadabad-Champaner, built in 914 A.H./1508 A.D.<sup>5</sup> It all means that the inlay or *pietra-dura* as a

1. A. U. Pope, *The Survey of Persian Art*, p. 707. Figs. 944-47, 901-06, 774-5, 898.

2. *Māthir-i-Rāhimi*, Vol. I, pp. 596, 607.

3. Chaghtāi, M.A. *Exhibition of Impressions of Inscriptions*, Lahore, 1936, Nos. 14, 16, 17.

4. *Archæological Survey of India*, 1904-5, pp. 1-5.

5. Chaghtāi, Nos. 89-90.

Muslim contribution to Indian architecture already existed in India much earlier than that of Florentine *pietra-dura*.

In the days of Babur, Agra became the seat of the Mughal kingdom. The Mughals enriched it with monuments which they built after their particular style of architecture *in situ*, which was based on prototypes found in Central Asia.<sup>1</sup> Even to the days of Shāh Jahān we can easily study and discern this feature from their monuments which have been decorated with so many devices such as relief, mural, stucco, inlay, etc. But their decorative motifs are of one and the same style and shape as stated above. From this particular point of view, both at Delhi and Agra, certain notable mausoleums are worth study, such as : that of Shamsu'd-Din Khan Atka at Delhi built in 974 A.H./1566 A.D.; Salim Chishti's mausoleum at Agra, built in 982 A.H./1574 A.D. : the mausoleum of Akbar at Sikandra, Agra, built in 1022 A.H./1613 A.D. and that of I'timādu'd-Dowla at Agra, built in 1038 A.H./1628 A.D. But from the days of Jahāngīr these decorative motifs began to appear mostly on the exterior of monuments, either in faience or *pietra-dura* in lieu of other varieties of decoration.<sup>2</sup> (See Figs. 13 & 14). It was due to Shāh Jahān himself who raised *pietra-dura* to its zenith. When Jahāngīr, his father, died in 1037 A.H./1627 A.D., his mausoleum was erected by Shāh Jahān at Lahore. The floors of its platform and of the roof bear excellent specimens of inlay in geometrical traceries of striped marble, but the sarcophagus has a unique form of *pietra-dura* decoration of precious stones of variegated colours, which had never been adopted before in India, and the same was also carried out on the sarcophagus of Āṣaf Khān's tomb adjoining Jahāngīr's at Lahore, although he died 16 years later. These show Shāh Jahān's genius in architecture.

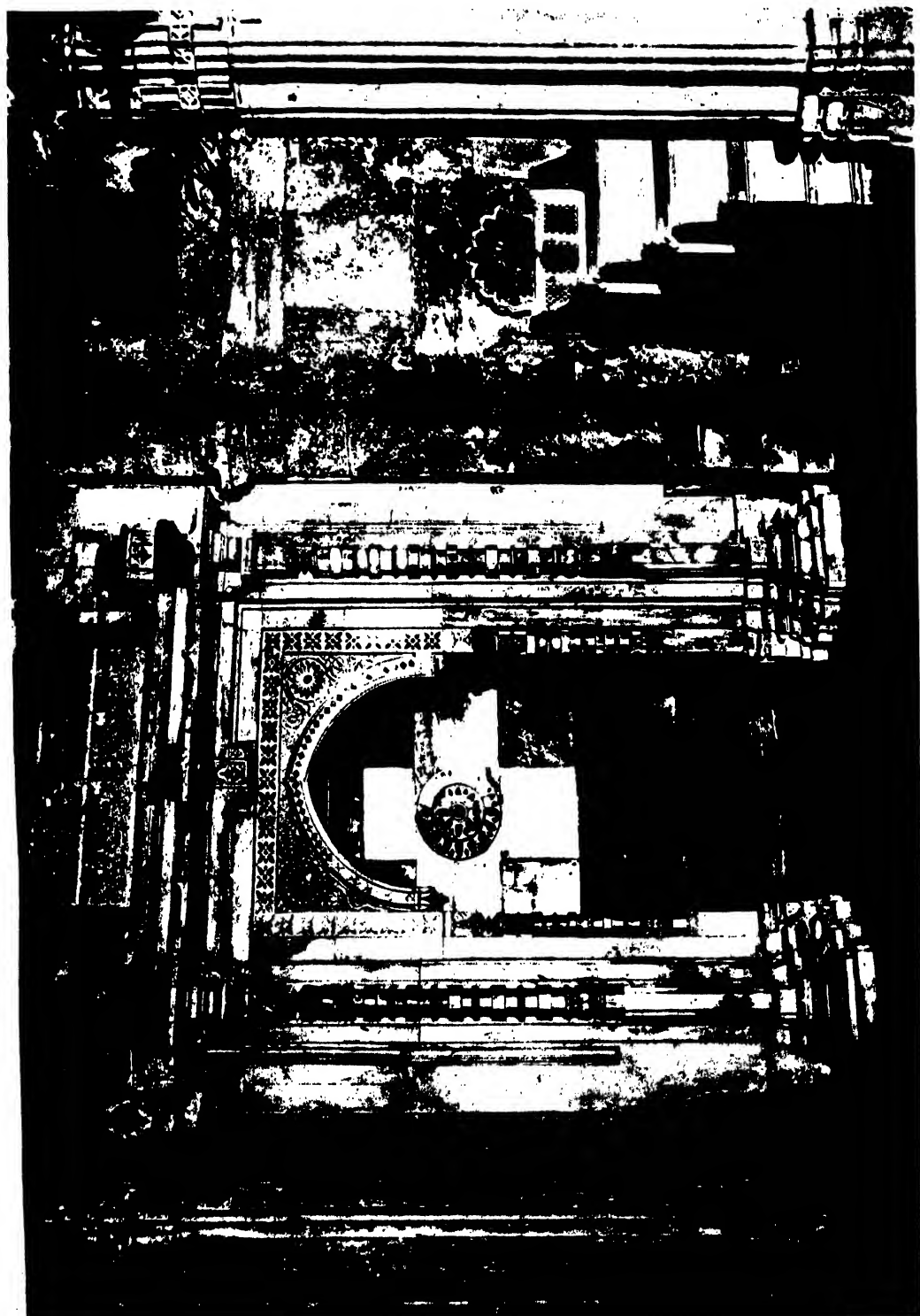
On the occasion of the erection of the Taj, the mausoleum of Mumtāz, Shāh Jahān, following the prototype of his own creation of this form of decoration at Lahore in Jahāngīr's mausoleum, carried it to its climax to make it harmonise with the highest standard of the architecture created there. The sarcophagus of Mumtāz which is exactly in the centre of the dome, consists of *pietra-dura* in precious stones, namely lapis lazuli agate, jasper, brown-violet stone, green stone, etc., etc., (See Fig. 15) with which every spandrel or every other salient detail of the Taj is richly adorned. These stones have freely been employed in wreaths, leaves, tulips, etc., in conventional forms, and in the delicately written inscriptions from the Qur'ān in black marble. Shāh Jahān died in 1076 A.H., i.e., nineteen years after the final completion of the Taj, and was buried by the side of his beloved wife, instead of finding a separate mausoleum on parallel lines, as he had contemplated in his own lifetime to build opposite the Taj on the other bank of the river. The interment of Shāh Jahān's body by the side of Mumtāz, has, of course, marred the central symmetry of the dome,

1. Cohn-Wiener, E., *Turan*, Berlin, 1930, pp. 31, etc.

2. Smith E. W. *Mughal Colour Decoration*, Allahabad 1902.









which is the chief characteristic of Oriental architecture. However, Aurangzēb, simply with a view not to mar its beauty and harmony, prepared the sarcophagus both on the floor and in the basement with the same form and standard of *pietra-dura* as that of Mumtāz, so much so that at present no one can distinguish which is the later of the two, so far as the minutest details in the workmanship are concerned. Only the inscriptions bearing dates of death and name respectively, can clear the point.

These works prove beyond all doubts that the Mughal *pietra-dura* in India is the offshoot of Central Asian and Persian specimens. Mr. Havell remarks: "The masons, who executed the inlay, including the so-called *pietra-dura*, which is distinctly Persian in character, were Indian and Hindus who came from Kanauj. The chief worker, Chiranji Lal, received one of the highest salaries, 800 rupees per month which is a sufficient proof that he was not a mere artisan working under supervision, but was a master-craftsman of high position among Shāh Jahān's experts. His subordinates were Choti Lal, Mannu Lal and Manohar Singh, whose salaries ranged from 300 to 200 rupees per month.

"Though the extensive use of marble and stone inlaid decoration in Indian buildings was most probably a fashion introduced by the Arabs, who had themselves borrowed it from the Byzantines, it seems that the practice had become a part of the Hindu craft tradition so long before the building of the Taj as effectually to dispose of the theory that the *pietra-dura* of the latter was derived from the Florentine work of the 16th century, to which it has no resemblance except in technique."<sup>1</sup>

Here it seems necessary to make it clear that almost all the *Parchin Karan*—*pietra-dura* workers, cited above in the account of Mr. Havell, are those mentioned in the Persian MSS. in my possession and their native places are cities in Central Asia. Samarqand is shown as the home of Charanji Lal, Rūm (Constantinople) of Mohan Lal, Balkh of Manohar Singh and so on, which seems to be physically all but impossible. To my mind either their actual Muslim names have been mutilated and instead of them Hindu names have been coined or the information supplied in these MSS. is altogether fabricated. However, it is gratifying to note that Mr. Havell is of the opinion that the origin of this form of decoration is Persian in character.

Quite contrary to facts, the *pietra-dura* work of the recess behind the baldachin—*Nashīman-i-Zilli Elāhi* in the Diwan-i-'Am of the Delhi Fort, the design of which represents flowers, fruits, and birds in a most natural manner—is said to have been executed by Austin de Bordeaux. Among the other designs the Frenchman is mistakenly supposed to have introduced his own portrait under the garb of Orpheus playing on his lyre, with a lion, a leopard and a hare lying charmed at his feet. All this seems to be impossible, for Austin died in 1632 A.D., i.e., just after the construc-

1. *The Nineteenth Century and After*, June 1903, *The Taj and its Designers*, by E. B. Havell.



tion of the Taj was begun, and the Delhi Fort was founded in 1048 H./1638 A.D., i.e., six years after his death.<sup>1</sup>

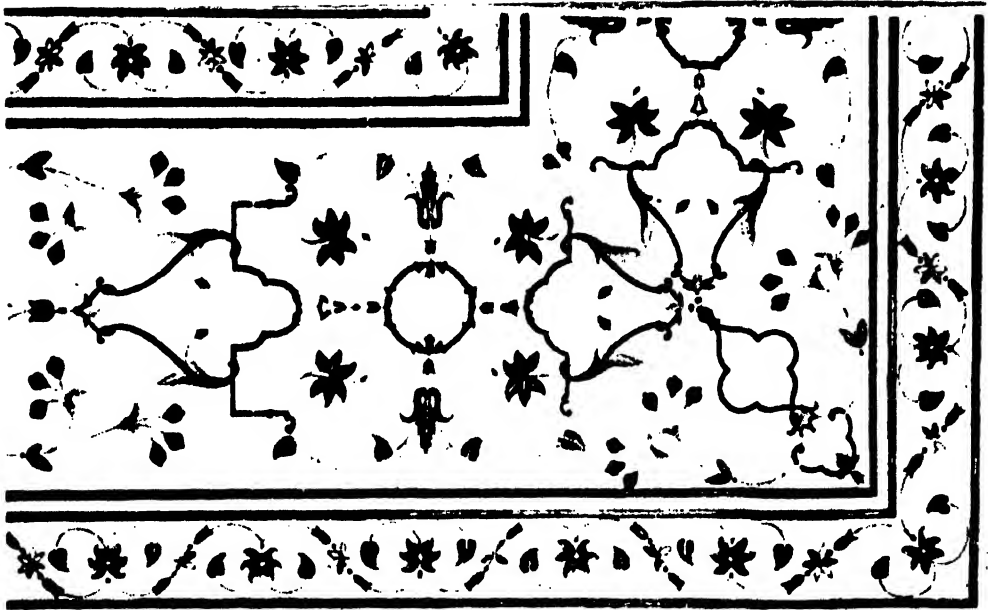
We are fortunate in finding a contemporary account of this portion of the Diwan-i-'Am of the Delhi Fort in the official record, '*Amal Šālih*', which does not make any mention of this particular piece of work having been designed or executed by a European artist :—"Near the ceiling is the Jharoka (balcony) for the nobles and the plebeians which is a place of prostration for the public and a source of fulfilment of the desires of the wordly people. This balcony, just like a bungalow, is wholly constructed of marble and is four yards long and three yards wide. It consists of four pillars and a recess, in the back wall, seven yards long and two and a half yards wide, which is adorned with *Parchin Kārī*—(*pietra-dura*) decoration of variegated stones by the most highly skilled artists with all sorts of wonderful paintings. It excels in beauty so that the silverized orange of the moon and the golden citron of sun cannot stand in front of it. It provides so much amusement to the eye that one looks disdainfully at the real multicoloured garden in full bloom in spring. On three sides of it there is a fixed lattice of pure gold which gives the impression that the balcony is encircled with sun rays. Every morning this auspicious place is honoured with the presence of the Emperor, when it is exalted more than the mansions of the moon and the sun, and on account of the radiation of light from the appearance of the Emperor, this place looks elegant as the place of the rising sun. In front of this magnificent balcony there is a spacious hall of forty pillars, each of which is strong enough to be a support for the Koh Bēstūn, or rather a base for seven azure domes. This very lofty hall is twenty-seven yards long and twenty-four yards wide. The decoration of the ceiling and different paintings on the wall excel even the work of the great artist Mānī."<sup>2</sup>

But in my opinion the most vivid and faithful picture of the Diwan-i-'Am is that depicted by the contemporary French traveller, Bernier, in which he has fully shown the arrangement of the royal audience in the Darbar-hall of those days. Being an art-expert, he could easily assert, without any hesitation, whether there was any sign of the hand of European artist in the construction of the baldachin of the Delhi Fort or of the Taj at Agra. In this respect his following passage describing the *pietra-dura* decoration of the Taj, with which he has compared similar work found in Florence, Italy, conclusively proves that neither was any European artist employed by the Emperor nor was any sort of such work ever imported for the Taj from Europe. "The interior or concave part of the dome and generally the whole of the wall from top to the bottom are faced with white marble ; no part can be found that is not skilfully wrought or

1. See *Islamic Culture*, April 1940.

2. '*Amal Šālih*', Vol. III, pp. 42-43. As far as the measurements of this hall are concerned there is some difference between the actual ones and those noted above from '*Amal Šālih*', otherwise the description is more or less the same.





15. A Detail of Pietra-Dura of Mumtaz's Sarcophagus at the Taj.



16. A Detail of the Italian Pietra-Dura from the Dining Table of Louis XIV of France in the Louvre Museum, Paris, which is obviously quite different from that of the Taj as well as other Oriental motifs.





that has not its peculiar beauty. Everywhere are seen the jasper and jachen, or jade, as well as other stones similar to those that enrich the walls of the Grand Duke's chapel at Florence, and several more of grand value and rarity, set in an endless variety of modes, mixed and encased in the slabs of marble which face the body of the wall. Even the squares of white and black marble which compose the pavement are inlaid with these precious stones in the most beautiful and delicate manner imaginable."<sup>1</sup>

Finally the words of the great authority Sir John Marshall may be adduced to refute all false ideas about the attribution of the *pietra-dura* of the baldachin at Delhi and of the Taj at Agra to European origin :—

"Something remains to be said concerning the date and style of these plaques. Tradition has it that the decoration of the throne was the workmanship of Austin de Bordeaux, the celebrated French artificer, who is said to have been employed by the Emperor Shahjahan both on the palaces at Delhi and on the Taj at Agra. The figure of Orpheus, indeed, is pointed out by the native guides as a portrait of Austin de Bordeaux himself. The story seems apocryphal. Perhaps it was suggested by the Italian character of the panel design ; but it should be observed that the black marble of their background and the majority of the inlaid stones are of Italian and not Indian provenance, and it is not unreasonable to suppose, therefore, that they were not only designed but actually executed in an Italian studio and afterwards imported into this country.

"The arabesques, on the other hand, which decorate the inter-spaces between the panels, are of pure Indian style and Indian workmanship, without a vestige of foreign influence. Mr. Havell, referring to the decoration of the Delhi Throne in a recent article in the *Ninth Century and After*, 1903, has suggested that it has been wrongly attributed to Shahjahan's reign and ought, rather, to be referred to the early part of the 18th century. He rightly insisted on its inferiority in point of style to that of the Taj at Agra."<sup>2</sup>

Again two years after, Sir John Marshall confirmed these words by stronger remarks after consulting an Italian expert on Italian marbles. He says :—"The view which I then expressed, has since been confirmed by S. Menegatti a Florentine mosaicist, a practical expert in Italian marbles. These panels were without doubt made in Italy and brought to India all complete so that they stand on quite a different plane to works of art produced on Indian soil, and afford no substantial proof whatever of the extraneous influences to be looked for in the latter ; (the presence of these Italian plaques demonstrates trade connections but nothing more)."<sup>3</sup> (See Fig. 16).

1. Bernier's *Travels*, p. 298.

2. *Archæological Survey Annual Report for 1902-03*, p. 20.

3. *Ibid.* 1904-5, p. 1-3.

Apart from the *pietra-dura*, and other forms of decoration, Shāh Jahān also enriched his buildings with the best specimens of *Al-Fusai Fasā* (Glass Mosaics) as defined in the beginning of this chapter, with which generally the roofs of various halls in Delhi, Agra and Lahore were decorated ; but the best specimen of this which surpasses all others in beauty and quality, is at Lahore in the Fort *Muthamman Burj* (Octagonal Tower). It is found on pillars, walls, roofs in variegated coloured pieces of glass. When one looks at it, the sight is dazzled and innumerable reflexes confront one. These pieces are set in stucco in most beautiful and symmetrical designs, floral decorations and motifs. For this reason this part of the Lahore Fort is locally called the Shīsh Mahal (the Palace of Mirrors).

M. ABDULLA CHAGHTAI.

## CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CLASSICAL PERSIAN-ENGLISH VOCABULARY

### ز

زادن (Sometimes with به ) : " To give birth " (to) (Sh. N., I, 468).

در ایوان آن پیره سر پرهنر      بزای      بکیخسرو      نامبر

In the palace of that excellent old man (i.e., Pīrān-e-Vīsa) you will give birth to the illustrious Kai Khusrau.

[Words of Sujāvash to his wife Farangīs].

### زاد

زاد زاد : " Most bitterly," (of weeping). (M., II, 306).

طبع دا هل تا بگرید زاد زاد      تو ازو بستان و وام جان گداد

Let the carnal soul weep most bitterly ; take from it, and pay the debts of the rational soul.

زاغ : " Night," (in respect of its darkness). (Sh. N., III, 1507).

برین گونه      تا شید بر پشت زاغ      بر آمد جهان شد چوروشن چراغ

And so, till the sun surmounted the ( darkness of ) night, and the world became like a brilliant lamp.

[Lit. " The sun mounted on the back of the crow "].

### زبان

زبانی : " By word of mouth." (D. Sh., p. 200).

گرچه پیغام از نسیم صبح با یاران نکوست      دود دل با دلبران گفتن زبانی خوشترست

Although a message to lovers through the breeze of dawn is sweet, it is sweeter to tell the beloved of the love of the heart by word of mouth.

[From an ode by Sāhib-e-Balkhī, known as Sharāfī].



زبون (zabūn).

زبون داشتن : " To hold as weak, incapable, to despise, depreciate." (Sh. N., IV, 1828).

چنین داد پاسخ یکی رهنمون له ماداشتم آن سپهرا زبون

An informant thus gave answer, " We held that army as incapable."

زجر : " Restraint." (Zend Dynasty, ed. Beer, p. 46).

چون مدت تقید حاجی علی قلی خان و صید مرادخان و برادران و اقوام او امتدادی کامل  
بهم رسانید همگی از زجر و محنت حبس بجان و از مشقت و زحمت قید بامان آمده

When the time of the imprisonment of Hājī 'Alī Kūlī Khān, and Sīd Murād Khān and his brothers and kindred had extended to a considerable length, through the restraint and pain of the confinement and the hardship and trouble of the imprisonment they were all reduced to despair.

زحف : (zahf) an " outcry." (M., II, 533).

وربخسپد هست چون اصحاب کُفّ صوفیان کردند پیش شیخ زحف

And when he sleeps, he is like the Companions of the Cave—

The Sūfis made much outcry before the Shaikh.

[T. Com. : زحف جنکه و غوغایه دیرلر ; " Battle and outcry " are called zahf].

زدن

زدن : (with prep. بر) : " To attack." (M., II, 465).

آن غزان ترک خونریز آمدند بهر یغای بر دهی ناکه زدند

A band of bloodthirsty Oghuz Turks appeared, and suddenly attacked a village to get plunder.

- - " To rise " (to) or (above). (M., II, 341).

آن یکی ماهی له بر پروین زند وین یکی کرمی له در سرگین زید

The one, a moon which rises above the pleiades ; and this other, a worm which lives in ordure.

— — — (M., II, 385).

از دو پاره پیدا این نور روان موج نورش می زند بر آسمان

From two pieces of fat this flowing light—the waves of the light associated with them rising to the sky!

[The " two pieces of fat " are the eyes].

— — “ To be joined ” (with). “ to come into contact ” (with). (M., II, 402).

پیش خویشان باش چون آواره بر مه کامل زن ار مہپادہ

If you are a wanderer, go to your relatives ; if you are a segment of the moon, be joined with the full-moon.

[i.e., Strive to be absorbed in the perfect Sūfī, the Murshed, who is as the Universal Spirit].

— — “ To be associated ” (with). (M., II, 41).

بی دماغ و دل پر از فکر بدند بی سپاہ و جنگ بر نصرت زدند

Without brain and heart, they were full of thought ; without army and war they were associated with victory.

— — “ To bring into contact ” (with). (M., II, 372).

کور نشناسد کہ دزد او کہ بود کرجہ خود بر وی زند دزد عنود

The blind man cannot recognise who was his thief, though the perverse thief may bring himself into contact with him.

[I have explained and translated on the supposition that خود is for خود را since the T. Com. explains اگرچہ دزد عنود کند یسنى نو رہ اور رسہ لہ . If خود be simply emphatic, the hemistich should be rendered “ though the perverse thief may actually come into contact with him ”].

بر زدن (with prep. به) : “ To bring into contact ” (with). (M., II, 340).

لرندیدی جنس خودکی آمدی کی بغیر جنس خود را بر زدی

If he had not seen his own kind, why should he have come ? Why should he have brought himself into contact with one of another kind ?

— (with prep. بر) : “ To come into conflict ” (with), “ to attack. ” (Sh. N., IV. 1731).

همی این بران برزدی آن برین چنین تا دو مہتر گرفتند کین

This (Minister) attacked the other, and the other this one ; (and) so till the two princes were full of rancour.

— (with prep. در) : “ To have an effect ” (upon). (M., II, III).

تابشب گفتند در صاحب شتر بر نزد کو از طمع پر بود پر

(The criers) declared it till night-time, but it had no effect upon the owner of the camel, because he was full of expectation, full.

زرد : "To come together, to associate together." (M., II, 340).

چون دو کس برهم زند بی هیچ شک در میانشان هست قدر مشترک

When two persons associate together, there is, without any doubt, a common property between them.

زرد

زرد رو گشتن : "To be shamed." (M., II, 77).

ما ز موسی پند نگر فتم کو گشت از انکار خضری زرد رو

We have not taken warning from Moses, who was shamed by unbelief in one like Khizr.

زردت هشت See زرد هشت

زرد هشت : From rhymes in the Sh. N. should be "Zardhisht," "Zoroaster," the name of the chief Mūbid and minister of Nūshīrvān. He was poisoned by Nūshīrvān's successor Hurmuzd.

(Sh. N., 1794 and 1795).

1794 :

که موبد زبد پاک بودش سرشت مرآن پیر را نام بد زرد هشت

For the Mūbid's nature was devoid of evil. That old man's name was Zoroaster.

1795 :

همی راند اندیشه برخوب وزشت سوی چاره کشتن زرد هشت

He reflected upon all aspects of the question of how to put Zoroaster to death.

زردت هشتی : The adjectival form of the variant زردت هشت namely زردت هشتی occurs as a rhyme to زشتی in a line of Daḳīkī's, quoted in the commentary to the Ch. M., p. 197.

زرد دامن : "The skirt of a coat of mail. (Sh. N., IV, 1936).

پیاده شد آن مرد پر خاش خر زرد دامش را بزد بر کمر

The warrior dismounted, and touched the skirt of his coat of mail into his belt.

زمان

در زمان : "Immediately." (of frequent occurrence).

(در for اندر) تنگ اندر آمدن See زمان تنگ اندر آمدن.

زنگ (zang).

چون زنگ : "Rustlike" (as applied to wine, 'ruddy, tawny').

(Ch. M., Commentary, quoting lines by Daḳīkī, p. 197).

دقیقی چار خصلت برگزیدست      بگیتی از همه خوبی وزشتی  
لب یاقوت رنگ و ناله چنگ      می چون زنگ و کیش زدهشتی

Of all things, good and bad, in the world, Daḳīkī has chosen four:

A ruby-coloured lip, the lyre's tones, the ruddy wine, the Faith of Zoroaster.

زوزه : "Howling." (H.B., Ch. 43).

زه (zih)

زهی باز کردن : "To unfasten a bow-string." (Sh. N., IV, 1892).

زدر چون رسیدند نزدیک تخت      زهی از کمان باز کردند سخت  
فگندند ناگاه بر گردنش      بیاویختند آن گرامی تنش

When from the door they came near to the throne, they unfastened a strong string from the bow ;

They threw it suddenly over his neck and strangled that venerable personage.

[A relation of the murder of King Hurmuzd].

زهیدن (zahīdan)

زهانیدن : "To let (water) gush out." (M., II, 212).

می زهاند کوه ازان آواز و قال      صد هزاران چشمه آب زلال

From that cry and speech the mountains let countless springs of limpid water gush out.

[i.e., even the mountains and rocks with all their hardness are affected to tears by the words of the prophet or saint].

### زهره (zahra)

زهره دیدن : For "the gall-bladder to be torn ;" i.e., for one "to be terrified." (M., II, 86).

شیر گفت از روشنی افزون شدی زهره اش بد دیدی و دل خون شدی

The lion said, "If the light were increased, he would be terrified, and his heart would die within him."

### زیان

زیان باز دادن : "To compensate for damage or loss suffered." (Sh. N., IV, 1849).

زیانی که بودش همه باز داد هم از گنج خویشش یکی سازداد

He compensated him for all the loss he had suffered, and even gave him some means from his own treasure.

زیان باز شدن : "To recover damages." (Sh. N., IV, 1800).

ز خسرو زیان باز باید ستد اگر صد زیانست صد بار صد

Damages must be recovered from Khusrau (Parviz) :

If the damage is a hundred, (then) a hundred times a hundred.

زیبا : (with 'izāfat) : "Fitted" (for). (Sh. N., III, 1480).

کسی را جز از تو نخوانند شاه که در خورد تاجی و زیبای گاه

They shall call none but you King, for you are worthy of the crown and fitted for the throne.

### زیر

زیر کردن : "To turn over from one side to another" (with the hands). (L. A., p. 324).

The expression is given by the Editor as a translation of التغليب بالكف which occurs in some Arabic verses by the Mukhil.

زبور : An "ornament." (not necessarily of "gems, gold, or silver") (D. Sh., p. 228).

زبور غفور صفحات اعمال همگان مرتسم گردانید

He depicted the ornament of pardon upon the pages of the deeds of them all.

## س

### ساز

(. زیان باز دادن " Means, effects." (See under ساز :

—A " scheme. " (Sh. N., IV, 1851).

بگفت این و خود ساز دیگر گرفت      نگه کن کنون تا بمانی شگفت

He said this, and adopted another scheme—look now that you may be amazed.

ساز بودن " To be arranged, devised, used for to be an appliance or device for. " (M., II, 552).

زید و عمرو از بهر اعرابست ساز      کرد و غسست آن تو با اعراب ساز

" Zaid and " Amrw " are (merely) a device for (showing) the case-endings ; although (the assertion) is untrue, make your account with the (lesson of ) case-endings.

[The T. Com. and the T. Trans. read ساز و اعرابست but I think it is fairly clear that the و should be omitted, and the T. Com. does so in explaining:—" Zaid and 'Amrw " are arranged, or concocted for the case-endings].

" To make an arrangement, to form a scheme." (Sh. N., IV, 1887).

که من بی گانم کزین راز ما      وزین در نهان ساختن ساز ما  
بدان لشکر اکنون رسد آگهی      نباید که سرتو بدشمن دهی

I doubt not that of these thoughts of ours and of the schemes we are forming in secret.

Information will now reach that army—Do not give up your life to the enemy.

" To become in proper order, in normal state, to get healthy." (M., I, 389).

سازگرفتن "To enjoy oneself." (M., II, 343).

سنگ آورد و مگس را دید باز بر رخ خفته گرفته جای و ساز

It brought the stone, and saw the flies again settled on the sleeper's face and enjoying themselves.

["Enjoying themselves," "Sāzgirifta," which has here the sense of "Mutamatti' Shuda"].

ازسازرفتن "To get out of gear, disorganized." (M., II, 197).

روز بیگه لاشه لنگ و ره دراز کارگاه ویران عمل رفته ز ساز

The day late, the ass lame and the road long ; the workshop gone to ruin (and) the work disorganized.

به سازکردن "To keep in proper order." (M., II, 64).

گفت نا اهلان نکردندت بساز پرفزود از حد و ناخن شد دراز

She said, "Incapable people have not kept you in proper order ; your wings have got inordinately big, and your claws too long."

#### ساعت

ساعتی آوردن "To wait a moment or a little while." (Sh. N., IV, 1805).

سپاسم ز یزدان کزین مرد پیر برآمد چنین گفته ناگزیر  
اگر ساعتی دیگر آورد می بمردی و بسیار غم خورد می

Thanks be to God that words so indispensable have been uttered by this old man.

If I had waited a little while longer, he would have been dead, and I should have suffered much regret.

سان (sān) : "Review" (of troops). Generally used alone, but in Zend Dynasty, ed. Beer, p. 57, with precedent ملاحظه سان. Thus lit., "the inspection of the condition" (of troops).

بملاحظه سان لشکر و انعقاد سلک جمعیت عسکر و تهیه مایحتاج اسباب سفر اشتغال (نموده)

He occupied himself in reviewing the troops, seeing to their good and ready order, and providing the necessary equipment for the campaign.

سبقت (sabkat, sabakat)

سبق "Preceding, antecedence (coming before)." (Redhouse).

سبق کردن "To precede, come before."

سبک (sabuk).

سبک دوح : "Careless, unpretentious, unambitious." (H. I., p. 498).

سبک داشت : "To despise, despising, contempt." (Cf. سبک داشت (Sh. N., II, 1795).

ز مهتر سبک داشتن ناسزا است اگر شاه تو بر جهان پادشاست

Contempt from a great prince is not befitting (even) though your king be paramount in the world.

سبک مایه : "Undignified." (Sh. N., III, 1413).

هرانگه که خشم آورد پادشا سبک مایه خواند ورا پارسا

Whenever the king displays anger, the wise man would call him undignified.

سپاس

سپاس (with prep. از) : ("Thanks" (be to). Sh. N., IV, 1769).

(For quotation see under خوار).

سپاس بودن (with نزد کسی) : (For a person) "to be under obligations. (Sh. N., I, 422-3).

وگر بازگردد سوی شهریار ترا برتری باشد از روزگار  
سپاسی بود نزد شاه زمین بزرگان گیتی کنند آفرین

And should (Siyāvash) return to the King (of Persia), you will be further exalted by Fortune.

The King of the World (i.e., the King of Persia) will be under an obligation (to you), and the grandees of the world will applause.

سپاه (سپه)

A "Multitude." (M., III, 179).

ای عجب چون می‌نبیند این سپاه عالمی پر آفتاب چاشتگاه

Wondrous ! that this multitude sees not a whole world full of (the light of) the morning sun.

[The B. K. explains سپاه as لشکر و انبوه.]



سپاه بردن : " To lead an army." (Sh. N., I, 404).

سپه بردی و جنگ را خواستی      که بودت سربخت و هم راستی

You have led an army and engaged in battle, for you had the might of good fortune and also rectitude and justice.

(لشکر کشیدن as سپاه کشیدن).

سه پایه

تخت سه پایه : " The tripad throne; " i.e., the " Mimbar " or pulpit, which had three steps. (Sh. N., IV, 1790).

به تخت سه پایه برآید بلند      دهد مرجهان را بگفتار پند

He will ascend the tripad throne exalted (above the people) ; by his words he will give counsel to the world.

[Buzurjmehr is interpreting a dream of Nūshīrvān's as signifying the coming of Muḥammad].

سپردن : (Sapardan or Sipardan).

دو زگار بید سپردن : " To run the risk of evil or calamity." (Sh. N., I, 465).

بدوگفت چون تیره شد روزگار      نشاید سپردن بید روزگار

(Garsivaz) said (to Afrāsiyāb), " When fortune has darkened, we should not run even the risk of evil."

کیتی بید سپردن : " To have experience of evil or calamity." (Sh. N., IV, 2036)

هرآن کس که گیتی بید بسپرد      بمغز اندرش هیچ باشد خرد  
بداند که بهرام بسته میان      ابا او یکی گشته ایرانیان  
برومی سپاهی نشاید شکست      نشاید روان ریگ برکوه بست

Whoever has experience of evil, (and) who has any intelligence in his brain.

Will know that Bāhram (Chūbīn), who is all prepared, and with whom the Persians have made common cause

Cannot be defeated by a Grecian army—quicksand cannot be struck over to a mountain.

جهان را بید سپردم و بنیک و بد سپردم : "To come across good and evil." (Sh. N., IV, 2039).

جهان را سپردم بنیک و بید نماندم که روزی بمن بد رسد

I have come across good and evil, but on no day have I let evil reach me.

[Khusrau Parvīz, who is speaking, means that he has never let evil fortune prevail against him].

پی روزگار ان بید سپردن : "To pass the time, to live unfortunately." (Sh. N., IV, 1805).

فراوان ز گنج پدر بر خورد پی روز گاران بید نسپرد

He will enjoy abundant wealth in the treasure of his (late) father ; he will not live unfortunately in the world.

حق سپاسی سپردن : "To acquit oneself of an obligation." (Sh. N., I, 435).

سپاسی نهادی ازین بر سرم که تا زندهام حق آن نسپرم

Through this you have laid an obligation upon me of which I shall not be able to acquit myself so long as I live.

سپنجاب (sipanjāb) : "The name of a country near Sogdiana, to which Kāmūs-e-Kāshānī, an ally of Afrāsiyāb, who was ultimately killed by Rustam, belonged. (Sh. N., II, 504).

سپنجاب و سغدی بکودرز داد بسی پند و منشور آن مرز داد

(Rustam) gave Sipanjāb and the Sogdiana territory to Gūdarz ; he gave him much counsel and the mandate of those regions.

سحی (saḥy) : "The wrapper of a letter." (H., I, p. 32, ed. Stephenson).

سحی نامه خدای عز و جل بر نکیرد مگر که دست اجل

Naught but the hand of death shall take off the wrapper of the letter of God—the Powerful and Glorious.

[Death here is death to oneself in God].

سخت

سخت کردن : "To secure, fasten, to lock on bolt." (Sh. N., IV, 1894).

خود اندر پرستش که آمد چو کرد بزودی در آهنین سخت کرد

(Bandūy) himself ran into the place of worship like lightning, and hastily secured the iron door.

سر

سراپا (Used sometimes as a noun): "The form or figure from head to foot." (Hāfiz, ed. Brockhaus, Vol. II, 14).

میر من خوش می روی کاندر سراپا میرمت ترک من خوش می خرامی پیش بالا میرمت

My lord, you walk so gracefully—may I die before your (graceful) form! My Turk, your gait is charming—may I die before your (charming) figure!

سر بسته (with prep. به): "Estimated" (at). (Beck's Persian Grammar, p. 464).

شخصی را بعوض طلب یک طاقه شال کشمیری داده اند سر بسته بمبلغ یک صد و بیست و پنج تومان

A certain person has been given, as payment of a debt, a Cashmere shawl estimated (by the debtor) at a sum of a hundred and twenty-five tūmāns.

[The term سر بسته means literally متعلق "connected" (with), "attached" (to), but it may here be conveniently rendered "estimates" (at)].

سر پرستی: "Devotion" (to), "taking care" (of). (Vullers explains the تیار حال کردن of the Bh. as "statui mederi, statum emendare" which are scarcely the right meanings.

He quotes from the Bh. a quatrain by Ṭughrā):

گر قطب شمالی همه جای گردد در طرف کلاه تو هوای گردد  
زینان که بسر پرستیش اوچ گرفت جا دارد اگر فلک رخائی گردد

If the polar star could go to all places, it would be ambitious to be (only) in the border of your cap.

Such is its exaltitude in devoting itself to it, that the sky might well be free from case (as to that duty).

[The "it" in the second verse refers to the "cap," which may possibly be a crown, since the person spoken of is apparently of exalted rank].

سر پیچ (as سر پیچ): "Obdurate, recalcitrant." (T. N., p. 940).

ازو میخواست چیزی می ندادش بسی درپیش دکان ایستادش  
زبان بگشاد دکان دار سر پیچ که تاتوزخم نکنی ندهمت هیچ

He begged something (of the shop-keeper), but he would not give him anything, (so the Sūfī) stood a long time before his shop.

The obdurate shop-keeper opened his mouth and said, "Until you wound (yourself) I will give you nothing."

[The correct reading may, however, be پرپیچ (purpīch), "troubled"].

از سرپای : "Quickly, immediately."

از سرناز : "For pleasure." (H. P., p. 66).

می خرامید روزی از سرناز در دهی خالی از نشیب و فراز

He was walking one day for pleasure on a road devoid of decline and incline.

(برآوردن as) سر آوردن : "To bring to an end." (Sh. N., IV, 1835).

لرآیم همان پیش تو ناکهان بترسم که برمن سرآردی زمان

If I should appear at once before you, I fear that you would bring my days to an end.

[Lit., "bring time to an end for me"].

سر جنبانیدن (with به) : "To toss the head in contempt" (at). (L. A., I, 273).

توسرو دوانی و سخن پیش تو باد میگویم و سر بهرزه می جنبانی

You are a waving cypress and words to you are wind. I speak, and you toss your head in contempt at the nonsense.

[From a quatrain by Sharafu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Shafarvah].

سر کردن : "To appear, to be manifested." (M., II, 232).

هر زمان در سینه نوعی سر کند گاه دیو و گاه ملک گاه دام و دد

Every moment a new species appears in the bosom : sometimes a demon, sometimes an angel, and again, wild beasts, gentle or ferocious.

(with از) : "To be vexed" (with). (Sh. N., I, 422).

ترا سرزتش باشد از مهتران سراو همان از تو گردد گران

You would be reprehended by the great, and (Siyāvash) also would be vexed with you.

(with سوی) : "to go" (towards or to). Sh. N., II, 518).

سراو سوی ایران نهادند گرم نهانی چنان چون بود نرم نرم

They went swiftly towards Persia, secretly, and so, softly and quietly.

[سر ها for سران]

——“ To lie down, to rest on sleep.” (M., II, 327).

آن مسلمان سر نهاد از خستگی      خرس حارس گشت از دل‌بستگی

That true believer through fatigue lay down to rest ; and the bear from attachment to him constituted itself a guard.

——“ To lay down one's head in submission, to be submissive.” (M., I., 268).

گر ببطلاست دعوی کرده      من نهادم سر بر این کرده

If my pretension is without grounds, I lay down my head in submission, strike it off.

“ To be accomplished, achieved.” (H. P., p. 75).

گر دلم زین هوس بدر نشود      سر شود وین هوس بسر نشود

If my heart does not abandon this desire, my head will go, the desire (still) unachieved.

“ To be added.” (Sh. N., IV, 1909).

چنین داد پاسخ که ده با دو ماه      برین بگذرد بازیابی تو گاه  
دگر برسر آید ده و پنج روز      تو کردی شهنشاه لیتی فروز

He thus gave answer, “When twelve months have elapsed, you will gain the throne again.

Thus when fifteen days are added (to this), you will become the world-illuminating King.

“ To add to, to give in addition.” (Sh. N., IV, 1962).

ازان کسی نه بستد هم اورا دهید      دگر نیزش از کنج بر سر نهید

Give it to the person from whom he has taken it ; give him also in addition something from the treasury.

“ Not to know what to make of ” (a thing). (Sh. N., II, 503).

چو بشنید خسرو سراسر سخن      نه سر دید پیدا مر آن را نه بن

When (Kai) Khusrau had heard all the envoy had to say, he did not know what to make of the matter.

سراییدن : "To speak." (*Sh. N.*, IV, 2049).

پدیدار کردم همه راه خویش      پر از درد بودم زبده خواه خویش  
پس از مرگ من بر سرانجمن      زبانش مگر بد سراید زمن

I have shown you my mind entirely, (so that you may see how) I am distressed by my enemy,

Lest, after my death, his tongue speak evil of me before the people.

سرد کردن : "To estrange, to disgust." (*M.*, II, 145).

آن ند که خواجه تاش تو نمود      از تو مارا سرد می کرد آن حسود

You are not such as your fellow-servant represented (to me)—trying, that envious fellow, to disgust me with you.

سرد و گرم زمانه seems to refer to "Discipline on the Ṣūfī Path" in the *Ḥadiqa*, p. 32, ed. Stephenson.

سرد و گرم زمانه ناخورده      نرسی بر در سرا پرده

When you have not undergone the Ṣūfī discipline, you will not reach the entrance to the King's Court.

سرعته در حکم : "Hastiness of judgment." (*L. A.*, I, p. 325).

باری بسیار جرات و سرعت در حکم می خواهد برای اینکه شعرای قرن اول اسلام را تخطئه نمایند

At all events it requires much boldness and hastiness of judgment to charge the poets of the first age of Islām with error.

سرفرازی کردن (with prep. به) : "To distinguish oneself" (by something). (*Sh. N.*, III, 1404).

بدوگفت منذر که ای سرفراز      بفرهنگ نوزت نیامد نیاز  
چو هنگام فرهنگ باشد ترا      بدانائی آهنگ باشد ترا  
با یوان نمانم که بازی کنی      بیازی همی سرفرازی کنی

Munzir said to him, "Exalted (Prince), you have yet no need of learning ;

When the time comes for you to learn, and you are fitted to acquire knowledge,

I will not let you go on playing in the palace and distinguish yourself (simply) by play."

A "tombstone or tablet." (Ch. M., p. 223).

در سنه ۱۸۹۲ انجمن مذکور با رسوم و تشریفات شایان دو عدد بونه کل سرخ بر سر قبر فیتزجرالد مترجم رباعیات عمر خیام نشانیده و یک سرلوحه که حاوی کتیبه ذیل بود در آنجا نصب کردند

In 1892 the above-mentioned Club, with suitable forms and honours, planted two young red rose-trees at the head of the grave of Fitzgerald, the translator of the quatrains of 'Umar-e Khayyām, and set up a tombstone there containing the appended inscription.

"To neglect." (Sh. N., IV., 2017). (سست کردن) (as سست داشتن)

همی خواندیش شاه و او چاره جست همی داشت آن نامه شاه سست

The King summoned him more than once, but he practised evasion, and neglected the King's letters.

"Lowness, the depths," (M. II, 320). سفول

ترس و نومیدیت دان آواز غول میکشد گوش تو تا قعر سفول

Take your fear and despair to be the voice of the Ghūl, which draws your ears to the lowest depths.

سفید کاری

"To whitewash." (Ch. M., 227).

می فرماید که مقبره هرایک از شعراء مملکت مرا خواسته باشید مرمت و سفید کاری کنید حاضر و باختیار شماست

He tells them that they are at liberty to repair and whitewash the tomb of any poet in his Kingdom they wish.

"Prosperity, success." (H. P., p. 73). سفیدی حال

زیست با او همی بکامه خویش چون رخس سرخ کرد جامه خویش  
کاولین روز بر سفیدی حال سرخی جامه را گرفت بفال

He lived with her enjoying his desires. He dressed in red, a symbol of her cheeks.

For he had taken on that previous day redness of clothes as omen of success.

"To consult" (with). (Sh. N., III, 1461). (with prep. با) سکالش جستن

سکالش مجوئیم جز بار دان خردمند و بیدار دل موبدان

I will consult only with the learned, the wise and enlightened Mūbids.

سگالیدن (with prep. با) : "To consult" (with). (Sh. N., IV., 1788).

هر کار با مرد دانا سگال برنج تن از بادشاهی منال

In every affair consult with the wise—do not complain of the trouble entailed by sovereignty.

سندروس (sandarūs) : Explained in the Sh. N. Glos. as "a gum-like amber," but with چون means always "yellow," i.e., "pallid." (Sh. N., IV, 1892).

هم آنکه برخاست آوای نوس رخ خونیان کشت چون سندروس

At that time arose the roll of the drum ; the faces of the assassins grew pallid (at the sound).

سو (سوی) sū : "Side, direction." That سو has the longer form سوی (as دوی دو) is proved by verses in which the longer form is required by the metre. Cf., e.g., Sh., N., II, 528 :

بدان سو روان کشت پیران نیو وزین سوی شاه و فرنگیس و گیو

The hero, Pīrān, went in that direction, and in this direction went the Prince, Farangīs, and Gīv.

سو (سوی) : "To, in the view of." (Ḥadīka, p. 17).

ذات او سوی عارف و عالم برتر از کیف و ما و از اهل ولم

His Essence to the gnostic and the safe is above *How* and *What*, and *Whether* and *Why*.

—"As regards." (Ḥadīka, p. 36).

چه سوی ناکسان چه سوی کسان قهر و لطفش بهر که هست دسان

Whether as regards the unworthy, or as regards the worthy, His wrath and His kindness reach all who exist.

—"On the side of," (in descent). (Sh. N., 371).

نیره جهاندار سام سوار سوی مادر از تخمه نامدار

A descendant of the world-holder Sām, the noted horse-man, and on the mother's side of the stock of a famous (Prince).

—"From, back to," (in descent). (Sh. N., II, 508).

سرافراز و ز تخمه کی قباد ز مادر سوی تور دارد نژاد



A Prince exalted and of the stock of Kai Ḳubād and through his mother descended from Tūr.

سواد apparently means the "ground" on which a picture is painted, in the H. P., p. 75.

پیکری بسته بر سواد پرند      پیکری دل فریب و دیده پسند

A portrait painted on a silken ground, one which should please the eyes, beguile the heart.

سود

سود کردن : "To derive profit." (M., II, 287).

من نکردم امرتا سودی کنم      بلکه تا بر بندگان جودی کنم

I have not commanded (worship) in order to derive some profit (myself), but in order to bestow a kindness on (my) slaves.

سود و زیان : "Business ; the interests of life." (M., II, 354).

قصد گنجی کن که این سود و زیان      در تبع آید تو آن را فرع دان

Aim at a treasure, for these interests of life will follow as a consequence : consider them only as derivatives.

[ "A treasure ;" i.e., the Ṣūfī saint, or rather the spirituality and divine knowledge which may be gained from him].

سودمند آمدن (with با of the person): For one "to be profited by." (Sh. N., IV, 1742).

بخوبی بسی رانده ام با تو پند      نیامد ترا پند من سود مند

I have given you much good counsel, but you have not been profited by my counsel.

سیاه

سیاهی : "Ill-luck, misfortune." (H. P., p. 78).

کاویں روز بر سفیدی حال      سرخی جامه را گرفت بفال  
چون بدان سرخی از سیاهی دست      زیور سرخ داشتی پیوست

For he had taken on that previous day redness of clothes as omen of success.

Since by that red he had escaped from the blackness (of misfortune), he ever adorned himself with red gems.

## سیر

(فارغ گشتن (with and the sense of سیرگشتن): "To have done" (with) (Sh. N., IV, 1913).

چو گشت از نوشتن نویسنده سیر نگه کرد قیصر سواری دلیر

When the secretary had done with writing, the Kaiṣar fixed upon a bold horseman (as bearer of the letter).

## ش

## شاد

"Joyful." (L. A., II, 4).

اگر غم را چو آتش دود بودی جهان تاریک بودی جاودانه  
درین گیتی سرا سر گر بگردی خرد مندی نیابی شادمانه

If sorrow had smoke, as fire has, the world would be always dark.

If you travel through the whole world, you will not find a single wise man joyful.

[Quoted from Shahīd of Balkh].

Haftvād's eldest son, from whom Firdausī received the old story of the Indian Rājā Jamhūr and his son and nephew Gau and Talḥand. (Sh. N., IV, 1726).

چنین گفت فرزانه شاهوی پیر ز شاهوی پیر سخن یاد گیر

Thus spoke the old sage Shāhūy— 'Be mindful of the words of Shāhūy.

## شتاب

(with را or به of the person impatient, and از of the cause): "To get impatient" (of or at). (Sh. N., III, 1471).

چو شد نیره شب رای خواب آمدش هم از ایستادن شتاب آمدش

When dark night came on, he had a mind to sleep, and got impatient of standing up.

## شرط

"To carry out conditions." (H. P., p. 77).

چون سه شرط از چهار شرط نمود تا چهارم چگونه خواهد بود

Since he has carried out three conditions of the four, (let us see) how it will be with the fourth.

شرف (sharaf): "Exaltation," (in an astrological sense). (Doulat Shāh, p. 208).

امروز هست زهره و خورشید را شرف و امروز هست مشتری و ماه را قران

To-day Venus and the sun are in exaltation, and to-day Jupiter and the moon are in conjunction.

[Venus is in strength or exaltation in Pisces, the sun, in Aries.

The verse is from a Qaṣīda by Maḥmūd-e Brusa'ī].

شرم

بشرم آمدن (از) : "To be shamed" (before). (Sh. N., IV, 1912).

که پوینده گشتیم گرد جهان بشرم آمدیم از کهان و مهان

For I have been wandering round the world; I am shamed before great and small.

شروع

داشتن (در) : "To engage" (in). D. Sh. p. 199).

و در فنون علوم داشت مثل طب و موسیقی و غیر ذلک

And he engaged 12 various departments of learning, such as medicine, music, &c.

(Spoken of Sharīfī-ye Balkhī).

شعیب (Shu'aib): Jethno, the father-in-law of Moses, considered a prophet by Muslims.

شکار

آوردن : "To take game." (Sh. N., IV, 1801).

وزان پس به نخبیر شد شهریار بیاورد هرکس فراوان شکار

Afterwards the King went to the chase, and every one took abundant game.

شکستن

در شکستن : "To be crushed together," (as grapes), and so. "To be mingled together." (M., II, 561).

و ز دم المومنون اخوت پند در شکستند و تن واحد شدند

And (then) counselled by the words, "*Muslims are brothers*," they were mingled together and became one body.

—"To be plucked, (as a rose). (H. I, p. 506b).

شکن (*shikan*): "Undulation." (Redhouse).

شکن بر شکن: "With many graceful undulations." (*Sh. N.*, III, 1519).

یکی جامه‌گوی و دگر چنگ زن سوم پا بکوبد شکن برشکن

One is a singer of odes, another a lyrist, the third dances with many graceful undulations.

[Cf. also H. P., پای میکوفت با هزار شکن].

شکفتن (with از): "To be able to bear absence" (from). "To be able to do without." (*Sh. N.*, IV., 1800).

نبودی جدا یک زمان از پدر پدر نیز نشکفتی از پسر

He would not be a moment apart from his father, who also could not bear a moment's absence from his son.

—(with negative and از): "To yield" (to). (*Sh. N.*, IV, 1896).

سپاه مرا خیره بفریفتی ز بدگوهر خویش نشکفتی

You have wickedly deceived my army, you have yielded to your evil nature.

شگفت (*shigift*): "Astonished."

شگفت آمدن (with در): "To be astonished" (at). (*Sh. N.*, III, 1497).

بماند اندران شاه ایران شگفت وزان در دل اندیشها بر گرفت

The King of Persia was astonished at that, and reflected much in his heart upon it.

شمردن: "To repeat," or even "to multiply." (*Ḥadīka*, I, 30).

ذکر بردوستان و کم سخنان چه شاری بسان پیر زنان

Why do you, like an old woman, multiply invocations to friends and those who do not or cannot respond?

[i.e., invocation is due to God, Who can and does respond effectually].

شنبلید (شنبلیت): "Fenugreek." With چون means "yellow," i.e., generally, "pallid." (*Sh. N.*, IV, 1912).

چو قیصر بر ايسان سخنها شنيد برخسار شد چون گل شنبلید

When the Kaiṣar heard such words, his face turned pallid.

[Lit. "he became in face like the fenugreek flower."]

شنعت (shun'at).

شنعت زدن (with بر) : "To vilify." (M., II, 533).

صوفیان بر صوفی شنعت زدند پیش شیخ خاقاهی آمدند

Some Sūfis vilified a certain Ṣūfī, and came into the presence of the Shāikh of the monastery (to make their complaint).

شهد : "Honey." Used for دبیای شهد (the Hirmand river), in Sh. N., III, 1473.

ترا چاره اینست کز راه شهد سوی چشمه سوگوانی محمد

Your resource is to go in your letter, by way of the (river) Shahd, to the stream (called) Sau.

شهر : "A country." Common in this sense, especially in the Shāh Nāma —A "Kingdom." (Sh. N., II, 530).

اگر با شهنشاه شهری بدی ترا زین جهان نیز بهری بدی

If the King had a Kingdom, would you also have (even) a share of this world (of his) ?

شهره (shuhra ; with 'izāfat) : "Famous, celebrated " (throughout). E.g. شهره عالم "Famous throughout the world."

شهره (Shuhra) ; used independently by Daulat Shāh, p. 207, (with به) : "Famous " (for).

تا محمدی که بروزگار سلطان ابو سعید بمالداری شهره بود

To such an extent that in the time of Sultān Abū Sa'īd he was famous for his wealth.

[But possibly شده should be read].

شیشه دل : "Of weak, effeminate mind." (The T. Com. renders by دل Steingass exaggerates Vullers's misinterpretation). (M., II, 134).

هر کرا خوی نکو باشد برست هر کسی کو شیشه دل باشد شکست

Whoever has a good character and disposition is saved ; whoever is of weak, effeminate mind is broken.

[See the *Maṣnavī*, Book II, Translation and Commentary by C. E. Wilson].

—(M., II, 481).

تو چه دانی ذوق صبر ای شیشه دل      خاصه صبر از بهر آن نقش چگل

How should you know the delight of patience to bear and abstain, O you of weak and effeminate mind?—especially patience for the sake of that Beauty of Chigil?

[“ That Beauty of Chigil ” means, I think God, though the T. Com. says Muḥammad].

## ص

صاحب : A “ patron.” (Commonly found).

صاحب ترجمه : “ The author of a biography.” (Commonly found).

—“ The subject of a biography.” (Ch. M., p. 204).

القفطی در تاریخ الحکما در حق صاحب ترجمه گوید المشتهر فی الملة الاسلامیة بالتبحر فی فنون الحکمة الیونانیة و الفارسیة و الهندیة

Al-Kiftī in his “ History of the Philosophers ” says with regard to the subject of the biography, (i.e., Al-Kindī) : “ (He was) famous in the Islamic Community for his profound knowledge of the different branches of Grecian, Persian and Indian philosophy.

صفا “ Charity and serenity.” (‘A. M., p. 309).

دل سالک اول در مضیق خوف عقوبت افتد و از تنف حرارت آن نیم نضجی بیابد و بعضی از خامی طمع مراد و لدورت طلب حظوظ ازوی برخیزد و حجابش رقیق گردد و ازورای حجاب نور جمال صفات درخشیدن گیرد و عکس آن بردیده او تابد و محبت جمال صفات درو پدید آید آنگاه خوف عقوبت رخت بر بندد و خوف مکر فرو آید و دل نیم پخته در حرارت این خوف افتد و نضج تمام بیابد و بقیت خامی طمع و لدورت طلب حظوظ بکلی در مضیق این خوف ازوی متخلف شود صفائی مطلق پدید آید

The heart of the *Šūfī*, aspirant at first, falls into the straits of fear of punishment, and he gains half maturity from the burning of the heat of it, some of the rawness of desire of his objects and of the turbidity and disturbance of the quest of pleasures departing from him. His vail becomes thin, and from beyond it, the light of the beauty of the attributes begins to gleam and the reflexion of it shines on his eyes, whilst the love of the beauty of the Attributes is manifest in him. Then does the fear of punishment leave him and the fear of snares descends upon him and his half-matured heart falls into the heat of this fear and gains full maturity, the

remains of the rawness of desire and of the turbidity and disturbance of the quest of pleasures being wholly left behind him in the straits of this fear, whilst absolute charity and serenity appear.

صندل To Steingass's explanation add, " for headache and fever."

### صواب

(لفظی) صواب در جمع " The correct form of the plural " (of a word) (Ch. M., p. 170).

وصواب در جمع آن (یعنی برأت یا برات) براءات یا بروات است

And the correct form of its plural is بروات or براءات (baravāt or barā'āt). [cf. جمع بستن (with بر and دا)]: " To form the plural " [of (a word) in]. E.g., بروات جمع بندند and they form the plural of it in بروات (baravāt) (Ch. M., 70).

" The correct reading of the text." (Ch. M., p. 179). صواب در عبارت متن

بنا برین یکی از دو احتمال را باید قبول کنیم یا ثوئیم که صواب در عبارت متن ثمانین و اربع مایه است یا آنکه قول نظامی غروخی که سلطان ابراهیم از دنیا رفت و مسعود سعد سلمان را در زندان بگذاشت خطاست

Hence, we must accept one of two suppositions, either that the correct reading of the text is 480 (i.e., 1087 A.D.) or that the statement of Nizāmī-e 'Arūzī, to the effect that Sulṭān Ibrāhīm died and left Mas'ūd-e Sa'd-e Salmān in prison, is erroneous.

### صورت

" To form an image, etc.," (Sometimes taken literally : cf. صورت بستن). (صورت بند)

صونطراش sūn-ṭarāj, I. A. (Steingass). صونتراش sūntrash, I. (Redhouse). A corruption of سمنتراش. " An instrument for paring horses' hoofs." The corruption is of doubtful use in Persian.

### ضم

" To unite " (with). D. S., 199). (with accusative and با) ضم داشتن

انواع فضیلت و حسب با نسب سیادت ضم داشت

(Aminu'd-Dīn Tarlābādī) united various accomplishments and acquirements with the rank of descent from the Prophet.

ط

طاغوت in M., II, 468 means "the carnal soul, the flesh," نفس according to the T. C.

از خدا چاره استش و از قوت نی چاره است از دین و از طاغوت نی

He can do without God, but not without food ; he can do without religion, but not without the flesh.

طیدن

To be much agitated." (M., I, 438).

پیر نرزان کشت چون این را شنید دست می خایید و بر خود می طید

The old man trembled when he heard this ; he gnawed his hand, and was much agitated.

طرب

طرب خواه (ṭarab-khvāh) : " Seeking pleasant emotion through singing and music." Cf. the Arabic مستطرب.

طریق

(ba-tarīk-e aula) : " A fortiori," with a negative, " still less." ('A. M., pp. 17, 18).

هیچ مخلوق را قدرت بر ایجاد فعلی ممکن نه الا بشدت بخشیدن او . . . . . چه هرگاه که وجود فاعل که اصلست نه از وجود فعلش که فرع وجود ست بطریق اولی نه از او باشد

No creature has the power to do any act unless He gives him the power, for since the being of the (supposed) agent, which is the root, does not exist through him, still less does his act, which is a branch of his being.

طفره (ṭafra)

To get off with a false excuse." (St. Clair-Tisdall's P. Gr., pp. 71 and 73).

کآن نبردم زانرو نه ظاهر بود نه می خواست طفره زند

I did not think so, because it was evident that he wished to get off with a false excuse.

طهور (ṭahūr) : " Purifying." (M. I, 286).

هم تو زن یارب از آن آب طهور تا شود این نار عالم جمله نور



You also, O Lord, pour of that purifying water, in order that this fire of the world may become all Light.

[Cf. the *Qur'ān* XXV, 50].

## ظ

گفت صبحاً لک نعیم دائم بس لطیفی و ظریف و خوب رو (M. II., 166). (Cf. *ظریفه*.) "Elegant."

He said (to him), "(God give) you health! (may) lasting comfort (be yours)! (for) you are indeed fine, elegant, and handsome."

هر که باشد از زنا و ز زانیان این برد ظن در حق دبانیان (M., II, 350). "To be suspicious."

Whoever is (born) of adultery and is (himself) an adulterer, is suspicious with regard to godly men.

## ع

چون درین تزویر او یکدل شدی وز همه اشکالها عاقل شدی (with) (M., II, 332). "Destitute" (of), "void" (of).

Why did you become unanimous in (the matter of) this imposture of his, and become void of all doubts?

عرض را بخوان تا بیارد شمار (ajz): in sense of انکسار "humility, self-abasement." ('Andalib).

عرض (araz): pl. of عارض used apparently as a singular in *Sh.* N, IV., 1803: "Muster-master and reviewer of an army."

عرض را بخوان تا بیارد شمار  
عرض با جریده بنزدیک شاه  
له چند است مردم که آید بکار  
بیامد بیاورد شمار سپاه

Summon the muster-master, and let him bring his account of the number of men who are fit for service.

The muster-master came with his register before the King, and submitted the number of the army.

عرضگاه (arzgāh, but scars, in *Sh.* N., IV, 1808, as 'arazgāh) "A mustering-place of troops."

میپیدد بشد تا عرضگاه شاه  
بفرمود تا پیش او شد سپاه

The general came to the King's mustering-place, and gave order that the troops should muster before him.

عرض ('arazīyat): "The quality of being 'accident,'" عرض ('araz). (Baḥru'l-'Ulūm's edition with commentary of the Maṣnavī, p. 78).

عشق

عشق آوردن (with بر): "To show love" (for). (M., II, 333).

گرگ بر یوسف کجا عشق آورد جز مگر از مکر تا او را خورد

How should the wolf show love for Joseph, except perchance through witness in order to eat him?

[See the K., XII, 8-20].

عطسه شیشه ('aṭsa-ye shīsha): "The sound made in a bottle when liquid is poured out.

عقل

عقل معاد ('akl-e ma'ād): "The wisdom which is concerned with the spiritual world."

عقل معاش ('akl-e ma'āsh): "Worldly wisdom."

علائم السماء: A "rainbow." (Redhouse).

علت ('illat): "A reason" (for the truth of one's own ideas or suspicions, a court of indictment against the speaker). (M., II, 421).

هر درونی که خیال اندیش شد چون دلیل آری خیالش بیش شد

چون سخن دروی رود علت شود تیغ غازی دزد را آلت شود

Every heart which has become suspicious—when you adduce proof, its suspicion is increased.

When words reach (the suspicious man), they become a reason (for the truth of his own ideas): the champion's sword becomes an instrument for the thief.

علی: "Swayed by a motive; biassed," (so as not to see the truth). (M., II, 424).

گفت خصمان عالمند و علی جاهلی تو لیک شمع ملی

The (Deputy-Judge) said, "The adversaries know (their affair), but they are biassed; you are ignorant (of it), but you are the light of the faithful community."

[i.e., you receive enlightenment as to the merits of the case through being unbiassed].

علم الاسما بك "The asylum, recipient, or object of 'He taught (him) the names ;' " i.e., Adam, who was taught the names. (M., II).

آدمی کو علم الاسما بکست در تک چون برق این سگ بی تکست

So great one as Adam, who was the object of (the words) "He taught (him) the names," had no power against the lightning—like attack of this dog.

[The T. Com. renders the last two words of the first hemistich "is the lord." The rhyme is تک which, according to Steingass and Redhouse is "tak" and not "tag." Vullers gives both. بك "bak," in the sense of "lord" occurs only in the term اتابك and بك is not found in the sense of "lord," or in any sense, but بيك pronounced "beg"].

عمل ('amal): "The practical duties of religion." (M. II, 78).

زاهدی را گفت یاری در عمل کم گری تا چشم را ناید خلل

To an ascetic a companion of his in the practice of religion said, "Weep but little, in order that your eyes may not suffer injury."

در عمل مزامیر آوردن: "To set (verses) to (the music of) flutes (and sing it)." (Ch. M., p. 158).

این قطعه را بگفت و مطربان را فرمود تا در عمل مزامیر آوردند

He composed this "fragment," and ordered the musicians to set it to the flutes (and sing it).

عنان

عنان پیچیدن: "To display horsemanship, or simply "to ride." (Sh. N., II, 1465).

بگو تابه پیچند پیشم عنان مجشم اندر آردن نوک سنان

Tell them to display horsemanship before me and to tear away the ring at the point of the lance.

عنان داری کردن: "To restrain, control." (Z. D., ed. Beer, p. 13).

جعفر خان ولد خود را با فوجی از غازیان مامور بتوقف اصفهان نمود که در جزو عنان داری توسن جلادت علی مراد خان کرده باشد

(Šādik Khān) commissioned his son, Ja'far Khān to stay with a regiment of valiant men at Isfahan, to help in restraining the impetuous activity of 'Alī Murād Khān.

عنان گران کردن : "To tighten the reins." (Sh. N., II, 517).

چویک نیمه برید ازان کوه شاه      گران درد باز آن عنان سپاه  
همی بود تاپیش او رفت گیو      چنین گفت بیدار دل شاه نیو

When the Prince had ridden up half the mountain, he tightened back the reins.

He waited until Giv had come up to him, and then that Prince, valiant and alert, thus spoke.

عنبر : "Ink." (Sh. N., I, 423).

نخستین که برنامه بنهاد دست      بعنبر سرخامه را کرد پست  
جهان آفرین را ستایش گرفت      بزرگی و رایش نمایش گرفت

First, when he put his hand to the letter-paper, and dipped the point of the reed into the ink,

He began to praise the Creator of the world and to set forth His greatness and wisdom.

عول ('aul) : "Bias," (M., II, 240).

نور باید پاک از تقلید و عول      تا شناسد مرد را بی فعل و قول  
درود در قلب او از راه عقل      تقد او بیند نباشد بند نقل

Light is wanted, free from servile imitation and bias, in order that one may recognise a man without deeds or words (from him) :

That one may penetrate into his heart by the way of intellect ; that he may see his real nature immediately, and not be dependent upon interpretation.

[ عول "bias," almost "preconceived notions," the reading of B. U. and the H. Com. The T. Com. and the T. Trans. read غول ].

عیب ('aib)

عیب آوردن (with بر) : "To find fault" (with). (Sh. N., IV, 1911).

همه داستان را سخن نشمرند      نباید که برنامه عیب آورند

That they may not reckon all the account (empty) words ; they must not (have to) find fault with the letter.

—— ——— “To disgrace.” (Sh. N., II, 523).

شود رنج من هفت ساله بیاد و دیگر که عیب آورم بر نژاد

My toil of seven years would be nullified, and, in addition, I should disgrace (my) descent.

[Another almost identical example is on p. 517].

## غ

غائب (with از) : “Unconscious” (of). (A. M., pp. 331-2).

لفظ قرب در عرف متصوفه عبارتست از استغراق وجود سالک در عین جمع بغیبت از جمیع صفات خود تا غایتی که از صفت قرب و استغراق و غیبت خود هم غائب شود

The word “Kurb” (proximity) in the technical language of the Šūfī implies the immersion of the being of the Šūfī aspirant in very conjunction by unconsciousness of all his own attributes, to such an extent that he be unconscious even of his own attributes of proximity, immersion and unconsciousness.

غبین : “Vexation, disappointment.” (M., II, 426).

گر نماز از وقت رفتی مرا این جهان تاریک گشتی بی ضیا  
از غبین و درد رفتی اشکها از دو چشم تو مثال مشکها

If the appointed time for prayers had passed and escaped you, this world would have become dark to you, devoid of light.

Through disappointment and pain, tears would have flowed from your two eyes as from water-bags.

غدار (ghaddār) : A “tyrant.” (M., II, 226).

چون قلم در دست غداری بود بی کمال منصور بر داری بود

When the pen is in the hand of a tyrant, Manṣūr is doubtless on a gibbet.

[The “pen” is the emblem of power. Ḥusain b. Manṣūr Ḥallāj is a famous Šūfī who was crucified for saying “anal-haq].”

غرور (ghurūr) : “False confidence.” (M., II, 364).

وای گر صد را یکی بیند زدود تا بچالش اندر آید از غرور

Woe (to him), if at a distance he sees a hundred as one ! so that he engages in battle through false confidence.

غزات : "Proficiency." (Ch. M., p. 54).

ابو ریحان بیرونی . . . . . بگوید که مرد نام منجمی را سزاوار نشود تا در چهار علم  
اورا غزاتی نباشد

Abū Raihān Bērūnī.....says, "A man is not fit to be called an astronomer—astrologer, until he is proficient in four sciences."

### غزل

ایات غزل : "The introductory verses in a Kaṣīda relating to love, wine, description of nature, etc.," usually called تشبیب "exordium" opposed to ایات مدح "the verses of laudation" (of the subject of the Kaṣīda). (L. A., I, p. 123).

و در هر بیتى از ایات غزل گل ومی . . . . . لازم داشته و در ایات مدح در هر بیتى  
آفتاب و سایه مراعات کرده

And into everyone of the introductory verses, he introduced the words "rose" and "wine," and kept the words "sun" and "shadow" in each of the verses of laudation.

[From the biography of the poet Farīdu'l-Kāfi].

غضافر the pl. of غضنفر "Lion."

### غلبه (ghalaba).

غلبه گرفتن : "To predominate." (A. M., p. 335).

گاه حال انس غلبه گیرد و ازو فرط انبساط تولد کند و گاه حال هیبت غلبه گیرد و ازو فرط انقباض غلبه گیرد

Sometimes a "state" of intimacy predominates, and from it a feeling of ease and joy arises; sometimes a "state" of awe predominates, and from that, excessive constraint and discomfort prevail.

### غلط (ghalat)

غلط بین : "Who sees wrongly." (M., I, 284).

هر که دندان ضعیفی می کند کار آن شیر غلط بین می کند

Whoever draws the teeth of one who is weak, acts as that lion who saws wrongly.

غلط بودن : "To be in error." (Ḥadiqa, ed. Stephenson, p. 7).

تو درین راه معرفت غلطی سال و مه مانده در حدیث بطی

In this path of the knowledge of God you are in error; you have lingered for months and years in idle discussion.

[i.e., God cannot be known by philosophical enquiry].

غیبت (with از) : "Unconsciousness" (of, as to). ('A. M., pp. 331-2).  
See under غائب.

غیر (with 'izāfat) : "Other" (than). (M., I, 208).

ورز غیر جنس باشد ذوق ما آن مگر مانند باشد جنس را

And if we have pleasure from what is other than our own kind, that is probably similar to the kind (we belong to).

غیرت (ghairat)

غیرت کردن (with را) : "To make jealous, to arouse jealousy." (in) (Ch. M., p. 44).

صاحب غرضی قصه سلطان ابراهیم برداشت که پسر او سیف الدوله امیر محمود نیت آن دارد که بجانب عراق برود بخدمت ملک شاه سلطان را غیرت کرد و چنان ساخت که او را ناگاه بگرفت و بیست و محصار فرستاد

A self-interested person submitted an account to Sultān Ibrāhīm (of Ghaznī) that his son Saifu'd-Daula Amīr Maḥmūd intended to go to 'Irāk to visit Malik Shāh. He aroused jealousy in the Sultān, who had his son suddenly seized, bound and sent to a fortress.

## ف

فارغ (with از) : "Careless" (of), "untroubled" (by). (H. P., p. 89).

گفت از سنگ چشمه متراش فارغم زین فریب فارغ باش

He said, "Hew not a fountain out of stone : I am untroubled by this deceit ; have done with it."

— "Independent" (of). (M., II, 502).

می تواند زیست بی چشم و بصر فارغست از چشم او در خاک تر

(The mole) can live without eyes and sight : it is independent of eyes in the moist earth.

فارغ بودن (with) : "To have done, to have finished" (with). See under فارغ "careless," &c., where in the second hemistich فارغ باش means "have done (with it)."

فته has often the sense of مفتون. "Distracted with love." (I., N., p.923).

بگفت این و ز پیش او بدرشد      بصد دل از غلامش فتنه تر شد

She said this, and departed from before him, more distracted with love in every fibre of her heart than her slave.

فتیل : A "wick." (M., II, 304).

این سبب همچون طبیست و علیل      این سبب همچون چراغست و فتیل

Cause is like the physician and the patient : cause is like the lamp and the wick.

[i.e., sickness causes the exercise of the art of the physician, and the wick causes the burning of the lamp].

فر (far, farr ; as خوره or خره) : "The divine radiance, light, or illumination" (received especially by Kings). (Sh. N., I, 461). See under کوهر.

فراخ

"Swift." : (فراخ کام not) فراخ گام

فرازیدن (with به) : "To be attached" (to), "to be in love" (with). (Sh. N., IV, 1783).

سپاسم بیزدان که فرزند هست      خردمند و دانا و ایزد پرست  
و ز ایشان هر مزد نازانترم      برای و بهوش فرازانترم

Thanks be to God that I have sons, wise, learned, and devout ;

But I am most proud of Hurmuzd among them, and am most in love with his good sense and intelligence.

[Words of Nūshīrvān when about to appoint Hurmuzd his successor].

فراغ (firāgh) : "Independence." (M., II, 506).

واصلان دانست جز چشم و چراغ      از دلیل و راهشان باشد فراغ

Those who have attained union have nothing but observation and illumination ; theirs is independence of guidance and of the road.

فراموش

فراموش بودن (with dative) : "To be forgotten" (by). (Sh. N., IV, 1788).

مبادت فراموش گفتار من      وگر دورمانی ز دیدار من



Let not my words be forgotten by you, even though you be far from my sight.

### فراوان

فراوان گشتن : "To be sufficient ;" here, more particularly, "not overcrowded." (M., II, 436).

تا غریبی یابد آنجا خیر و جا      تا فراوان گردد این خدمت سرا

That any poor stranger may find comfort and place there, and that this mosque (of Kūbā) may be (thus rendered) sufficient (for the calls upon it).

فرجام : "Prosperity, success." (Sh. N., I, 386).

بدوگفت کاین خود بکام منست      بزرگی بفرجام و کام منست

(The King) said to her "This is indeed according to my desire ; greatness is through my prosperity and name."

فرسوده ( فرسوده رزم ) : "Veteran." (Sh. N., IV., 1810).

ز بهر زن و زاده و دوده را      نه پیچد روان مرد فرسوده را

Having in mind wife, children, and clan, the soul of the veteran would not recoil (from battle).

فرعونی : "A follower of Pharaoh." (M., II, 330).

کرد از دریا برآردم عیان      تا دهید از شر فرعونیان

I reduced the sea to naught before your eyes, so that you escaped from the malignity of Pharaoh's followers.

### فرمان

فرمان : "Death." (Ḥadīka, ed. Stephenson, p. 32).

چون رسیدی بحضرت فرمان      پس از آنجا روانه گردد جان

When you have reached the presence of death, then your soul will have its movement from that place.

["Death" as to the carnal soul and this world "That place ;" i.e., the spiritual world].

فرمان کردن : "To obey." (L. A., I., p. 64).

یکی نصیحت من گوش دار و فرمان کن      که از نصیحت سود آن کند که فرمان کرد

Hear some counsel of mine, and obey it, for he (only) profits by counsel who obeys it.

[Other examples are found in L. A., I, p. 96, and in Sh. N., IV, 1914 & 1916].

فرود آمدن و برنشتن : "To be practised in riding." (Sh. N., I, 359).

بیامد دمان تا میان سپاه ز لشکر بر خوس شد کینه خواه

که او بود برزین و نیزه بدست چو گرگین فرود آمد و برنشت

He came rushing on among the troops, and sought battle with Tūs out of all the army :

(With Tūs), who was in the saddle, with lance in hand, and who was practised in riding even as Gurgīn.

فرو گرفتن (with بر) : "To fix, establish" (upon or against). (T. N., p. 926).

ولی پیوسته می جوشید جانش نگه می داشت پنهان هر زمانش

که تا بروی فرو گیرد گناهی بریزد خون او بر جایگاهی

But his soul was even in a ferment, and he kept constant watch upon her in secret.

Until he should (be able to) fix the sin upon her, and shed her blood on a fitting occasion.

[“On a fitting occasion.” For additional confirmation of this sense of cf. Sh. N., III, 1504 :

سخن بهتر از گوهر آبدار چو برجایگه بر برندش بکار

Speech is better than lustrous pearls when it is used on a fitting occasion.

فرو نهادن (with از) : "To exempt" (from). (Ch. M., p. 48).

حیی قتیبه عامل طوس بود و این قدر او را واجب داشت و از خراج فرو نهاد

Haīy Kūtaiba was the revenue-collector of Tūs, and considered it due to him to exempt him from the land-tax.

[The person exempted was Firdausī, who had lately finished the Shāh Nāma].

فر (Farra); (as فر) : "The divine radiance or light." (Sh. N., I, 461).  
See under گوهر.

افزون (فزون) : "Superfluous." (M., II, 551).

گفت از ناچار و لاغی بر گشود عمرو یک و اوای فزون دزدیده بود

The grammarian is reduced to making up a jest, and says, " 'Amrw had stolen a superfluous 'W'.

افزونی (فزونی) : Supereminence." (Sh. N., III, 1456).

دگر آنکه لشکر بدارد بداد بداند فزونی مرد نژاد

Again, that he should treat the army with rectitude ; and that he should recognize the supereminence of the man of race.

افسانه (افسانه) (with 'izāfat and an adj.-noun in D. Sh., p. 191) : " Well known, celebrated, notorious."

باری چو فسانه می شوی ای بخرد افسانه نیک شونه افسانه بد

If you are to become well known, O wise man, at all events become celebrated for good, and not notorious for evil.

(افسوس) فسوس

" To use taunts." (Sh. N., IV, 1934).

چنان دان که هر کس که دارد فسوس هم او یابد از چرخ گردنده کوس

Know this that anyone who uses taunts, will himself suffer a blow from the rolling Sphere, (and so be subject to taunts).

" To breath an incantation ; i.e., in M., II, 362. " To utter a prayer " (over). See افسون دمیدن

فشار (fushār) : " Raving, gibberish." According to the Arabic dictionaries it is a word used in colloquial Arabic, especially the Syrian dialect ; but in Persian (pace Steingass) it is most probably not " a word used by the vulgar " only, since it is put into the mouth of Moses in the M., II, 282.

این چه ژاژست این چه کفرست و فشار پنبه اندر دهان خود فشار

What nonsense is this ? what blasphemy and raving ? Press a piece of cotton into your mouth !

[ فشار, however, may be the shorter form of the Persian افشار which, according to Steingass, means " speaking idly or obscenely." too, according to F., means افشایات سویلیمک rendered by Vullers, " *futilia, turpia obscaema loqui*." But in all this there is no indication of its being a vulgar word. Is it possible that the Arabic colloquialisms فشار, فشار may come from the Persian فشار (fushār) ? We have many such examples in Arabic : Cf. even وزیر (wazīr), and وزر (wazara), from the Pahlavi " vichira "].

قط (as an adj.): (The) "only." (Ch. M., p. 189).

و لباب الالباب عوفی قط کتابی است که ذکرى از او نموده

And the Lubābu'l-Albāb of 'Aufī is the only book that has made any mention of him.

فن (fann, fan): "Fraud." (M., II, 107).

هر كه دعوى آردش اینجا بفن بیش زندانش نخواهم آکرد من

Whoever institutes a suit against him here for fraud,—I will no more send him to prison.

فوت (faut)

فوت شدن (with از): "To escape the notice" (of), "To elude mention" (by). (Ch. M., p. 230).

و اسم این کتاب از حاجی خلیفه در کشف الظنون فوت شده است

And the name of this book, (الفصول الطب), has escaped the notice of Hājī Khalīfa in the "Kashfu'z Zūnūn."

C. E. WILSON.

(To be continued).

## NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

**THE NECTAR OF GRACE** ('Omar *Khayyām's* Life and Works) by Swami Govinda Tirtha. Rs. 7/8 net, Kitabistan, Allahabad.

THIS is a remarkable compilation by Mr. V. M. Datar, who once served Hyderabad State and after retirement took the above alias. His old chief and patron, Sir Akbar Hydari, contributes a foreword to the book, which is a learned thesis on 'Omar with a comprehensive collection of his inimitable quatrains and English translation by Mr. Datar himself.

The author has successfully determined the exact date of 'Omar's birth as 18th May 1048 (: 440 H.) on the authority of an astronomical problem given by Baihaqi in his *Tatimmat al-Shi'ar al-Hikmat*. Only a few years ago Moulana Syeed Sulaiman Nadvi in his learned Urdu treatise on 'Omar discussed this problem but failed to solve it. This is in itself a valuable contribution of Mr. Datar to his hero's biography. He has also diligently collected and reviewed 'Omar's philosophic writings. But of course the compiler's chief task has been the editing of 1096 quatrains which Mr. Datar considers to be genuine and publishes under several headings, such as : Praise of the Lord; The Wheel of Time; The Youth; *Kharābāt*; *Maikhāna* and so on. For this collection Mr. Datar consulted no less than 111 MSS. of the *Rubā'iyāt*, of which some thirty were known to be unique—and the two indices giving the date of the first publication of each known and unknown quatrain fully illustrates the wonderful labour he bestowed upon their collation. The book is consequently perhaps the most comprehensive and reliable

edition of these quatrains so far published and must form an indispensable volume to every 'Omarian's library.

With all these merits of Mr. Datar's important work one cannot help feel that his further labours in rendering quatrains into English verse was perhaps neither necessary nor seems to enhance its scientific value. Apart from possible licenses which a translator is bound frequently to resort to, Mr. Datar's myopic proclivities sometimes lead him to peculiar interpretations to otherwise plain meanings of the Persian original—as his conclusions relating to 'Omar's philosophy are based on his English version there is risk of a student of quatrains getting rather confused. Let me quote a few instances of such free translation from Mr. Datar's Introduction itself:

۱  
تم به خرابات به ایمان درست  
زار مغان را به کمر بستم چست  
گرد خرابات ز بدنامی من  
رخم بدر افکند و خرابات بشت

۲  
اقی منی معرفت مرا مکرم است  
در مشرب بے معرفان معصیت است  
بے معرفت آدمی چه آید هیچ  
مقصود ز آدمی همین معرفت است

۳  
رمی کده ذکر باده چل اسم من است  
رندی و پرستیدن می قسم من است  
ن جان جهانم اندرین دیر مغان  
این صورت کون جلگی جسم من است

## 1. Mr. Datar's translation :

Introducing the quatrain by remarking :  
 "One cannot enter the *khṛābāt* with  
 pomp and show" he renders it in the  
 same vein thus :—

"I went to Tavern-door as some divine  
 With flowing gown and cowl and  
 girdled fine ;  
 The Warden scanned my face, and with  
 disgust  
 He threw my baggage out, and  
 washed the shrine."

All this seemsto be quite away from the  
 mark. The poet is thrown out (by the  
 servant-boy of the Tavern) merely on  
 account of his "ill-fame."

## 2. Mr. Datar's translation :

"O Guide ! love findeth Thee and Holy  
 Grace ;  
 Some forget this and fall in sin's  
 embrace ;  
 Unless we know Thee we are out of count,  
 For man was made to know Thee  
 face to face."

The original is pretty plain but bears  
 little resemblance to Mr. Datar's version.

## 3. Mr. Datar's translation :

"In mystic Shrine, the Name is styled  
 as Wine ;  
 To love and be in trance I most  
 incline ;  
 I am the soul of the world in Holy shrine ;  
 The world is body for my soul  
 Divine."

But a faithful translation of the first line  
 may read something like this : At the Bar  
 my hankering after wine takes the place  
 of (a special prayer of) Forty Names (of  
 God ?, constantly repeated) .

رندهی (literally profligacy) has hardly  
 anything to do with Love, as interpreted  
 by the learned translator.

The book is neatly printed and illus-  
 trated by several block-photographs.

H.

## PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

1. *URDU FOR ADULTS* by S. Saiduz-zafar, published by Kitabistan, Allahabad.
2. *INDIAN STATES* by K. R. R. Sastry, published by Kitabistan, Allahabad.
3. *THE HINDU MUSLIM QUESTIONS* by Dr. Beni Prasad, published by Kitabistan, Allahabad.
4. *MOTHER-RIGHT IN INDIA* by Dr. Baron Omar Rolf Ehrensels, published by Oxford University Press, Bombay.
5. *JOURNAL OF THE ALIGARH HISTORICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE*, Vol. I, No. 1.
6. *KHUṬU-ṬE-GHĀLEB* by Mahesh Pershad and Abdussatar Siddiqi, published by Hindustani Academy, Allahabad.
7. *THE MENACE OF HINDU IMPERIALISM* by Swami Dharma Theerthaji Maharaj (B.A., LL.B.), President, Hindu Missionary Society, Lahore, published by Har Bhagwan, for Hindu Missionary Society, P. O. Box No. 225, Lahore.









